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THE NEW REPUBLIC

BY

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142 TO 150 WORTH STREET

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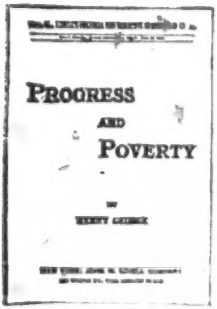

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THE NEW REPUBLIC.

FOUNDED ON THE

NATURAL AND INALIENABLE RIGHTS OF MAN,

AND CONTAINING

THE OUTLINES OF SUCH A GOVERNMENT AS THE PATRIOT FATHERS CONTEMPLATED AND FORMULATED IN THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE, WHEN STRUGGLING FOR LIBERTY.

BY

E. J. SCHELLHOUS, M. D.

"The true Republic is not yet here. But the birth-struggle must soon begin. Already, with the hope of her, men's thoughts are stirring."—HENRY GEORGE.

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TO THE READER.

It may seem like unwarrantable presumption for a single individual to put forth his efforts to restore to the people their rights by effecting the requisite changes in our government. If I presumed upon my own power or personal influence, such presumption would not only be unwarrantable, but ridiculous.

My appeal is to you in a common cause; it is to your sense of right, your love of justice; it is in behalf of the innocent, helpless victims to the overpowering greed of corporate rapacity; it is to that just and laudable pride that comes from self-respect and claim to the dignity of true manhood and womanhood.

I appeal to your sense of duty, that ever-present but often feeble voice that speaks to all, that our destiny and happiness are inseparably connected with others; that we can help ourselves only as we help others.

I wish to remind you that our interests are

one; of the power of unity; of the necessity of unanimity of thought and feeling and the concert of action.

I wish to remind you of the tactics of our oppressors, whom we must regard as enemies, in keeping the people distracted, by exciting mutual hatred, and arraying faction against faction and interest against interest, and thus secure an easy victory. Presuming upon their superiority, they take government matters in their own hands, furnish candidates committed to their interests for you to elect, and claim that the best must rule. This is an insult that deserves the most indignant contempt.

The work here presented for your consideration is radical—it goes to the root of the matter. Those who live upon your toil would make the science of government complicated, intricate, abstruse; they would fain convince you that it is beyond your capacity to understand. The weakest and most contemptible fear is that which arises from ignorance. Confront any one with a problem of which he is profoundly ignorant, and convince him that his welfare lies in its solution, and two things will result: unbounded confidence and respect for the one who he thinks can solve the problem, and a feeling of utter dependence on him. It is for you to be

able to solve the problems of free government; then self-respect and self-confidence will secure your independence.

They would have you leave the business for them to manage. They would have you accept as authority the accumulation of past ages derived from monarchical countries for them to interpret and apply, which is virtually saying: "You produce the wealth: that is your business; we will enjoy it: that is our privilege. We will give you just enough of it to live and work. That will secure two things: first, it will enrich us; and second, it will keep you so busy in earning your share, that you will not have time, means, nor opportunity to study these intricate questions that require a lifetime of research to understand." And soon, as they know, you will feel no disposition to study them. Unremitting and constant contact with hard physical force hardens the heart as well as the hands, and dulls the intellect as well as deadens the sentiments. Thus the producers of wealth—those who expend their energies, waste their lives, and blunt all the finer and nobler attributes of human character to create the millionaires' wealth—are regarded as the rabble, mud-sills, or, in their more polite language, the LOWER classes.

They would entice you into the mazes and

labyrinths of "Political Economy" and "Jurisprudence," as expounded by some "great" man, and awe you into submissive silence by informing you that none but "great men" and profound statesmen can understand these wonderful sciences—the accumulation of the wisdom of ages.

These, I say, are their tactics. We are bound and entangled and mystified; they have woven a network of sophistries around us, and point to our inability to comprehend them, thus holding us in perpetual bondage. I do not propose to solve these mysteries: they cannot do it themselves; but I propose to lay them aside as impracticable; to ignore these theories and speculations. However truthful and applicable they may have been or may be to monarchical governments, they are foreign to a republican government, and therefore useless to us. In proof of this, I present facts and conditions as the legitimate outcome of these theories in this volume—of usurped power, of untold wealth in few hands, of an impoverished people, of the rule of avarice, of despotic cruelty, of political chicanery, of corruption in high places and poverty in low places, of insolent arrogance on the one hand and servile submission on the other;—these are the fruits of corporate conspiracy to rob and

plunder IN A LEGAL WAY; for it is a fact of alarming significance that there is nothing done or being done, however damaging to the people's interest and fatal to republican government, *but what is in strict accordance with the constitution and laws of the land.*

I have shown that the principles and processes of republican government are simple and comprehensible, as all great truths and principles are when stripped of the verbiage that misleads and mystifies. Otherwise republican government is a myth, an impracticable dream, and the sooner we know it the better.

Herbert Spencer is a profound thinker. He stands confessedly at the head of modern scientists. Not long since, he spent several months in the United States, and on the eve of his departure for England he gave his opinions of American institutions. He said: "The republican form of government is the highest form of government, but because of this, it requires the highest type of human nature—a type nowhere at present existing. We have not grown up to it, nor have you."

There is deep significance in these words. Let us profit by them. Let us have not only the intelligence to perceive the cause of our political downfall, but have the courage to assail it with

destructive weapons. The revolution here proposed is not a bloody conquest, but a change from bad to good, from vice to virtue, from slavery to liberty, from despotism to freedom. Let the ballot in the hands of intelligence, prompted by the love of justice and guided by wisdom, be the silent but potent weapon for its accomplishment. I have shown that all depends on the qualification of the ballot-holder. It is for the people to use and show to the world that self-government is not only possible, but practicable.

E. J. S.

THE PRESENTMENT.

"Ye build! ye build, but ye enter not in,
Like the tribes whom the desert devoured in their sin;
From the land of promise ye fade and die
Ere it gleams forth on your wearied eye."

"Who would be free,
Themselves must strike the blow."

To the People of the United States.

The time has now come when all true men and women can move forward in one unbroken line, vindicating and protecting their natural rights as set forth in the Declaration of Independence. Your interests are indentical, your opportunities for action are free and ample, and your duties are plain and imperative.

A confederation of corporations has usurped the sovereign functions of this government, and exercises them for its sole use and benefit, thereby resolving it into an *oligarchy*.

The many are made to serve the few. Industry is made to enrich idleness. Capital created by labor has gained complete control over it, and holds it in its relentless grasp.

We declare that the principles upon which this government was founded have been ignored and superseded by a system whose essential features are borrowed from the British Government.

Instead of equality, we have class distinctions, founded on wealth.

Instead of a medium of circulation to carry on the industries of the country by equal exchange and equitable distribution, we have a limited currency controlled by corporations for their special benefit.

Instead of a system of land tenure that would secure homes for the people, we have a land monopoly already grown to an alarming extent, and still increasing.

Instead of fair and equitable rates for transportation and travel, we have ruinous discriminations, and extortion beyond all reason, justice, or precedent.

Instead of labor controlling its own interests, and regulating its relations to capital, it is, by aggressive avarice and relentless tyranny, trampled upon, the rights of laboring men and women ignored, and they are being reduced to hopeless poverty and servile dependence upon it.

Instead of honest representation and faithful public service, we have a system of political

machinery that manipulates nominating conventions, secures the election of their candidates, and by lobbying and bribery controls the legislative, executive, and judicial departments of the government.

As a consequence of these unjust measures and usurped powers, the vast majority of the people are made to pay tribute to the few, whereby immense wealth accumulates in their hands, by which class distinctions are built up, and aristocracies are founded at the cost of the wealth producer.

There is no good reason why any should be compelled to long and monotonous labor; to toil without recompense, save that of a bare subsistence, a condition that deadens stimulus, and banishes all expectation and aspiration for anything higher than to be the sons and daughters of incessant toil.

To liberate yourselves from the tyranny of capital, to break the bonds that enslave you, to strike off the fetters imposed by the bandit-chiefs of the Stock and Grain Exchange, and the robber-leaders who organize parties into machines, *is your work.*

Let us demand Justice that secures Equality; Equality that secures Liberty; Liberty that secures Happiness; for Happiness is the end and aim of human existence.

THE NEW REPUBLIC.

CHAPTER I.

DEFINITIONS.

"'Tis coming up the steeps of time,
And this old world is growing brighter;
We yet may see its dawn sublime,
For high hopes make the heart throb lighter."

GOVERNMENT in the sense of political science is an agreement, expressed or implied, to conform to certain regulations by a body of people having common interests and a common country. It is based on man's social nature and mutual wants; and has for its object the regulation and protection of its citizens in the full and free exercise of their natural rights, privileges, and opportunities.

Some uniformity and concert of action, some common sentiment finding expression in law and the various institutions of a country, are indispensable to the very existence of society. This

truth has given rise to the adage, "Bad government is better than no government."

Government, being a national association founded on mutual interests and mutual dependencies—an organized system of procedure—and necessary to secure these interests and the benefits of co-operation in the pursuit of mutual advantages, requires legislative and executive powers.

When these powers are exercised in the interest of a few, who, by the force of custom and false education, hold the many in subjection, such government is *Despotism;* when they are exercised by the people through an organized system of representation, such government is a *Republic.*

These two modes of government constitute the base upon which all the various forms of government among mankind are founded. The one is based upon assumed, usurped, vested power; the other upon natural rights. The former demands submission to superiors, the latter obedience to well-regulated institutions; the one for the aggrandizement of the few, the other embraces the good of all.

(1) A republican government is founded upon the natural rights of the people, and has for its sole object the regulation of those rights and the protection of the people in their full and free exercise.

(2) Human rights are based upon the necessities and requirements of life, and consist in a natural claim to the means of obtaining them; the essential conditions of which are personal liberty, physical sustenance, and mental freedom.

(3) As life is of divine origin, so are the rights necessary to maintain it; and those means by which all its purposes are accomplished are equally divine. These rights are inalienable, and as sacred as life itself, because their full and free exercise is essential to the accomplishment of life's purposes.

(4) The right to live carries with it the right of personal liberty, the means of subsistence, and the development and culture of all the intellectual, moral, esthetic, and spiritual powers and capabilities of the individual; and as all have the right equally to live, so all have the right equally to its prerogatives, means, and possibilities.

(5) Since the capacity to enjoy liberty, to acquire the means of subsistence, and the natural capacity for mental development and spiritual culture are within certain limits, with the free exercise of these natural rights, the status of the individual in such conditions, physically, intellectually, morally, and spiritually, would correspond with

such capacity; and equality of conditions within these limits would be established in a government founded on natural rights. In other words, the status of equality would be commensurate with the natural capacity of the people in the full and free enjoyment of such rights. As the limits in physical stature, strength, and endurance are comparatively narrow, with like development and culture, all the mental attributes would be within the same narrow limits, and NATURAL EQUALITY would be the result.

The struggles and miseries of life have arisen chiefly from the denial of these natural rights; and the usurpation of powers founded on the idea of a divine right to rule still prevails in all civilized countries, under the name of VESTED RIGHTS. Whenever natural rights have asserted their claims, "vested rights," holding the supremacy, have overpowered them, and thus kept mankind in submission.

Contending usurpers have involved nations in war, either to support dynasties or for conquest; and the wealth produced by the toiling millions has been squandered to satisfy the demands of ambitions pomp, luxury, and avarice. These are the fruits of despotism.

On the other hand, under a government that secures the exercise and enjoyment of natural

rights, each one would hold and enjoy the wealth he produces. The result would be the prosperity, advancement, and happiness of the people; whereas, the result of "vested rights," exercised by the few, is war, with all its attendant evils, the burdens of which are borne by the people, but the glory, wealth, and power go to the few; incessant toil, poverty, and slavery of the many, and idleness, luxury, and dominion to the few.

Thus it is seen that usurped powers vested in governments, formulated in constitutions, commanding obedience by the authority of law, and exercised for the benefit of the usurpers, must antagonize natural rights, and the results are inordinate wealth, tyranny, and oppression on the one hand; and poverty, debt, ignorance, crime, degradation, and misery on the other.

In our country, all vested powers, derived from the idea of a divine right to rule, have been proscribed in the Federal Constitution, but have been more than supplied by powers vested in corporations for private enterprise, under the authority granted by law, which have usurped and now exercise the sovereign functions of government for their sole use and benefit, and by their power dictate all the affairs of government and control all its sources of wealth. A govern ment thus based upon assumed vested rights can

never be "a government of the people, for the people, by the people." Power emanating from the people, and delegated to their representatives for exercise, must remain under the people's control and subject to their will.

"Government is nothing more than a national association, and the object of this association is protection, as well individually as collectively. Every man wishes to pursue his occupation and to enjoy the fruits of his labors and the produce of his property in peace and safety, and with the least possible expense. When these things are accomplished, all the objects for which government ought to be established are answered."—*Paine's Rights of Man.*

There is but one general principle that distinguishes freedom from slavery, which is, that all *vested* power is to the people a species of slavery, the degree of which corresponds with that of the power vested and exercised; and *delegated* power truly and faithfully exercised in a government is freedom within the scope of popular government. The power is in the people, not in their public servants; in those who pay, and not in those who are paid.

The prevalent idea is that the government is the power and the people are subject to it; whereas, the true idea is that the people are sovereign, and that the government is the prescribed

means for regulating their rights and protecting them in the exercise of them, and their official agents are subject to their control. A simple application of this idea will determine whether our government is a republic or not. If the greatest good is secured to the greatest number; if the subdivision of land is so regulated and occupancy so protected that all citizens who desire it may have homes upon it; if all who produce wealth can hold and enjoy it; if transportation, travel, and communication for intelligence are secured at the cost of service; if in elections the voice of the people is fairly expressed; if the burden of revenue is borne by all according to their ability to pay; if labor and capital are united in one common interest; if social and educational institutions secure to the people the greatest blessings they are capable of giving—then we have a republican government.

Such was the government contemplated a hundred years ago by the patriots. Inspired by the love of liberty and the divine heritage of human rights, they struggled with almost superhuman efforts, endured indescribable hardships, and made heroic sacrifices to gain for themselves and transmit to posterity the highest and noblest of earthly blessings—liberty, equality, fraternity, justice, secured by popular government.

But before such government could be fully formulated and set in operation, and during its brief existence, by the intrigues and machinations of the enemies of free government, its aims were diverted and its purposes defeated.

To show how far popular rights have been usurped, the following instance is given: In the last Congress an amendment to the post-office bill was offered, which provided, first, for an amendment to the charters of the Union and Central Pacific railroads; and second, for the reduction of compensation for carrying the mails on old-subsidy-and-land-grant railroads to fifty per cent of the rate paid on roads built by private capital. The arguments in support of the amendment were, that as the government had virtually built these roads by donating to corporations land and subsidy bonds amply sufficient in amount to cover all costs of construction and equipments, it had the right to demand the transportation of the mails over them at cost.

But the argus eyes of corporations saw that it would never do to acknowledge the right or power of the government to lay its finger upon a corporate prerogative, no matter how justly or how much the public good demanded it; so through its Democratic mouth-piece, Abram S.

Hewitt (son-in-law of the venerable Peter Cooper), in a tone of holy horror it wanted to know "if the House felt prepared to begin the work of confiscating private property, which, when once approved by a vote of the House, would proceed with fearful strides until it ended in a logical result—communism."

Through its Republican organ, Mr. Caswell, it was more defiant, and declared that the amendment would be inoperative, as it was a blow at the vested rights of those corporations, "*which could not be taken away or invaded by Congress.*"

Any regulation for the reduction of rates for transportation on those roads which were virtually built by the people is declared "confiscation of private property," resulting in "communism."

This from the Democratic side of corporate power; on the Republican side, "a blow at the vested rights of corporations, which could not be taken away or invaded by Congress"!

The definitions here presented show the necessity and importance of the people in taking immediate and determined action in the establishment of a government in which they will realize the blessings that justice, equality, and liberty give. The time *must* be near at hand, when the people, whose rights have been denied

and their powers usurped by a confederation of corporations, will arise in their might, arouse their slumbering energies, and resolve that to secure the natural and inalienable rights they will demand such a government as *will* secure them; "laying its foundations on such principles and organizing its powers in such form as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. . . . . Where a long train of abuses and usurpations, having invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them to absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their *duty*, to throw off such government, and provide new guards for their future safety." This right, this duty, is as sacred and binding now as it was a hundred years ago

The issues now involved are essentially the same; we have, however, this advantage: the foundation which they established, the Declaration of Independence, and the ballot, with which we may regain our liberties. The foundation is acknowledged by all, and the ballot is in the hands of enough to express the intelligence and enforce the will of the people, which constitute the power of the government. It only remains to test that intelligence and moral force of the people's will, for there is no obstacle that intelligence and moral power cannot overcome.

CHAPTER II.

OUTLINES OF THE NEW REPUBLIC.

"What constitute a state?
Men, high-minded men,
With powers as far above dull brutes endued,
In forest, brake, or den,
As beasts excel cold rocks and brambles rude;
Men who their duties know,
But know their rights, and knowing dare maintain;
Prevent the long-aimed blow,
And crush the tyrant while they rend the chain;—
These constitute a state."

A GOVERNMENT founded on the natural rights of the people must have a system by which their will can be fully and fairly expressed.

This requires political jurisdictions of two kinds; for organizations, like individuals, must have prescribed limits. First, primary, in which the people have direct and personal control over their local affairs. By this local government, the construction of roads, bridges, and the erection of buildings for public use, as schools, lyceums, and for public entertainment, conducting educational matters and all domestic affairs, are under the direct control of the people. The administration of justice in all civil and criminal matters, the abatement of nuisances and all other

concerns of a local character, are managed directly by the people in their local jurisdictions.

Second, representative, because of the extent of country and population, and the common interests arising from the combinations of local governments, the powers are delegated to agents who represent the people in their interests.

Sovereign control is to be exercised in these jurisdictions in matters pertaining to them respectively: in local, by the people direct; in the representative, by delegates elected by the people.

The primary jurisdictions extend to convenient limits, and unite to form county jurisdictions whose interests will be served by representatives. This is the first representative jurisdiction.

Another, embracing the State, also represented by delegates elected by the people, would be the second. This body of delegates will have charge of all the interests of the State, and the regulation of all affairs in which the people of the State have a common interest.

The highest representative jurisdiction will embrace the whole country, and the delegates for it will be elected by the people of the respective States, and their powers and duties will embrace all the interests of the people in the capacity of a General Government.

Each of these jurisdictions will exercise a

separate and independent sovereignty. Sovereignty pertains to unity, and each unit has sovereignty over its own interests. In all that belongs to a primary jurisdiction, its sovereignty is distinct and complete, and does not conflict with any other. So of a county, a state, or the nation.

The sovereign powers of the nation will be exercised by a legislative and executive department, which will be prescribed by a constitution, which will also contain provisions for other offices in the government, and for the election of officers, prescribing their duties and relations to their constituents.

The state governments will be constructed on like principles, with sovereign powers co-extensive with their respective jurisdictions.

The county governments will be merely administrative, and their sovereign powers will be commensurate with their respective jurisdictions.

Primary jurisdictions will regulate all local affairs within the limits of the state and national government.

Thus a scheme of government simple in its construction and easy of comprehension will secure all the purposes for which popular government is instituted, originating directly from the people and under their absolute control; the powers

delegated will return to the people at the expiration of the term of office.

Having outlined the general system of republican government, the most important subjects for consideration are the qualifications of citizens and the modes of election. The character of a government is that of the people composing it. If they have no true conception of just government, no just government can exist. The powers of government are inherent in the people, and for the purpose of exercise, are intrusted or delegated to some of their number. If these powers are so conferred as to be controlled by the delegates and beyond control or recall by the people, republican government ceases and is changed to despotism.

The first qualification of a citizen is a willingness to concede to others all that he demands for himself. This implies *justice* and *equality*, without which republican government cannot exist.

The second qualification for citizenship is a disposition and determination, at all times and in all places, to support the rule of the majority, when fairly and properly expressed. This is the *authority* of government.

The third qualification is intelligence and moral appreciation. A clear comprehension of the principles of government and its purposes,

and the duties of the citizen, are indispensable. This is the *power* of the government.

The fourth qualification embraces those attributes that fit the individual for the social duties of life, for government is a national association. These constitute the *benefits* of government, for it is by it that they are enabled to become general.

These qualifications are required of all, *regardless of sex.* The rights of women are equal with those of men. Since government is founded on rights, it becomes as necessary to one sex as to the other; for the question of sex does not involve that of rights.

The power for good is the love of those attributes that secure it, applied by the guidance of wisdom. This power is all-sufficient for man's purposes. It will overthrow despotism and corruption; it will emancipate the people from ignorance, poverty, crime, and misery. It will bring to realization the dreams of the philosopher and the hopes of the humanitarian.

It is attainable, not by conquest, but by the exercise of those attributes that constitute the true citizen, through the instrumentality of the ballot.

It comes not with the sound of the trumpet and the clash of arms, but by the gentle and

peaceful exercise of thought. It is ours when we command it, without cost or sacrifice, and of more value than wealth and pomp and dominion combined. Justice is its basis, equality its condition, and liberty, peace, and prosperity its blessings.

All it asks is the liberty of appearing; all it needs is the appreciation of the people. But so deeply rooted are the existing systems of the governments of the world, and so strongly have tyranny, the reverence for antiquity, and the slavery of fear wrought upon men, that it is difficult to overcome their influence. To eradicate error or remove prejudice is more difficult than to instill truth and inspire confidence in receptive minds. To realize this truth is the first step in this great work, and no greater or more important work can engage the mind and labor of man.

Having outlined the general system of republican government and the qualifications of its citizens, it is important to consider a just method of election. The voice of the people must be fairly and honestly expressed. In order to do this, the representatives must be elected by the people in their respective jurisdictions, without regard to lines of subdivision; that is to say, all the officers of a county must be voted for without respect to district lines, those of a state

regardless of county lines, and those of the nation irrespective of state lines.

One month before the final election, let there be held a primary election, with all the binding force and safeguards that the law can give. Let each voter express his or her choice for a candidate for office freely; and let there be as many candidates as the people desire to vote for. When these votes have been officially canvassed and reported, let all candidates be dropped except those having the highest number of votes aggregating a majority of the party voting for them. At the final election, each party will unite on one or more candidates who will be the choice of the majority of his party.

Where a number of officers of the same kind are to be elected, as supervisors, commissioners, and legislators, let the number of votes in the jurisdiction be divided by the number of officers to be elected, and the quotient be termed a *quota*. When a candidate receives a quota of votes, let him be declared elected. Then each party will concentrate its whole force on as many candidates as it can elect, for more than that would defeat its candidates. Thus each party would have a proportional representation.

With a government thus founded, constructed, and represented, the people of the United States

would be the most powerful, prosperous, and happy nation on the globe, requiring neither strife nor blood to attain such conditions.

One hundred years of experience, with the aid of history and the present condition of existing nations, ought to be a sufficient guide to that happy consummation.

Wisdom, justice, and humanity dictate it; advancing civilization requires it; and an enslaved, robbed, and impoverished people demand it. To break this thralldom and maintain popular freedom is the first and most important duty, and the highest privilege of this oppressed, impoverished, and enslaved people.

Let all who think, who love liberty, justice, and humanity, resolve to accomplish this great work; and the toiling millions, struggling in their poverty and now sinking into pauperism, with grateful voices will bless the workers; coming generations will sing their praises, and the glory of a moral heroism far surpassing any displayed on the field of battle will give worth and splendor to the names of those who did it.

CHAPTER III.

A BRIEF REVIEW OF THE STRUGGLE FOR LIBERTY.

"The man that is not moved at what he reads,
That takes not fire at their heroic deeds,
Unworthy of the blessings of the brave,
Is base in kind, and born to be a slave."

THE love of liberty is inherent in every sentient being. The condition of liberty is essential in the accomplishment of life's purposes. In the wilds of the new continent, and yielding to the impulse of freedom, the colonists were not slow in developing its spirit and enjoying the sweets of unrestrained activity. But the tyranny that drove them from their native land followed them to their new homes, and with insatiable lust sought to replace its shackles upon them. For more than a hundred and fifty years this struggle went on. Inspired only by avarice and the love of dominion, Great Britain resorted to every means for her own aggrandizement at the expense of the colonists. And yet the colonists maintained a loyalty to the mother government with wonderful pertinacity. But the accumulation of wrongs proved too much for even such loyalty.

The colonies were made a source of immense revenue to the mother country, and the struggle to throw off British tyranny was as intense and determined as the spirit of the colonists had been patient and indulgent; and the long contest ended in the acknowledgment of the independence of the United States by Great Britain in 1783.

It was not until 1754 that any effort was made to confederate the colonies for mutual defense. In that year, the first movement for a confederation of interests in the colonies was made for defense against the threatened invasion of the French and in support of the home government. The next was in 1765, in which a Declaration of Rights was published, but nothing further was done. The first suggestion of an independent movement was made in 1774, and the first Continental Congress was held in Philadelphia in September of that year; and in October following a Declaration of Rights appeared, in which natural rights were considered to some extent, and representation in their colonial government demanded, and a protest against certain usurpations. The result was expressed in the following words:

"1. To enter into a non-importation, non-consumption, and non-exportation agreement or association.

"2. To prepare an address to the people of

Great Britain, and a memorial to the inhabitants of British America.

"3. To prepare a loyal address to his Majesty, agreeable to resolutions already entered into."

But the stirring events that intervened between that act and July, 1776, prepared the people for that grandest of all Declarations. For sublimity and heroism it transcends anything ever accomplished by man; and for the interests involved in humanity no deeds of men approach it. "We hold these truths to be self-evident, *that all men are created equal.*" The necessary condition of equality is justice, and justice among men precludes the necessity of charity, for those only require charity who suffer from injustice.

"That they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights." Bold and sacrilegious is the power that deprives them of these rights. Emanating from a DIVINE SOURCE, they are themselves divine, and their deprivation by force or fraud is a crime.

"That to secure these rights governments are instituted among men." This is the legitimate object of government.

"Deriving its just powers from the consent of the governed." All power derived from other sources is despotism. Consent implies volition, and a government sustained by such power must necessarily be free.

"That whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people TO ALTER OR ABOLISH IT."

This is the right of all rights. It protects the people from the odious charge of revolution in any change of government they see fit to make. It is as legitimate to alter or abolish a government as to enact laws in support of it.

"To institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness."

By this declaration the right to build up in any form "most likely to affect their safety and happiness is conceded." It ignores all authority outside of the people, and leaves them free at any time to "alter or abolish" and institute a new government.

Upon these principles a government was partially founded, but in the pressure of events and the condition of the country, it was for a time left incomplete. Sovereignty is an essential condition of complete unity.

In 1777, the Continental Congress adopted the Articles of Confederation. It was a compact of States; it was not national. It served, however, to tide over the struggle and set the people upon an independent basis. It was required to exer-

cise sovereign functions of a national character. It was not endowed with that sovereignty. It needed completing, and had it been clothed with national sovereignty, the inestimable blessings of free government would have been secured to the American people, just as these principles were, as ratified in 1778.

In the Articles of Confederation the States were regarded as being endowed with absolute sovereignty, and the Confederation as an agreement to "be inviolably observed by every State." A government that extends its jurisdiction over the whole in all matters which concern the interest of the whole, or which relates to intercourse with other powers with which it is connected, must possess sovereignty over the acts it is required to perform and the interests it is required to protect. This defect in the then existing form of government led to a call for a revision and amendment of the Articles of Confederation, the history of which will be presented in the next chapter.

Thus the struggle for liberty ended in a brief but brilliant victory. Its fruit, which promised to nourish the famishing millions, was turned to bitter ashes, which only impoverishes by its hollow pretensions.

While liberty itself is lost, the name remains,

and since its blessings have never been felt by this generation, its value is not estimated. Incessant toil and privation stultify the mental powers and impoverish the spirit.

A condition that requires the whole time and energy to procure the necessary means of subsistence defeats the very purposes for which life is given.

The true purpose of life is to develop and cultivate to their highest capacity all the powers and attributes of body and mind, thus rounding out the individual to full and harmonious proportions; but this is impossible under existing conditions, because the whole energies are exhausted in procuring a bare subsistence.

This condition is virtually slavery—a condition incompatible with the purposes of life and the happiness of mankind. The attainment of liberty which involves the reconstruction of government is the work of the people, without which life and the pursuit of happiness are but idle dreams.

CHAPTER IV.

HISTORY OF THE FEDERAL CONSTITUTION, AND AN ACCOUNT OF THE LEADING MEN WHO ADVOCATED AND WHO OPPOSED IT.

"God of mercy! must this last?
Is this land preordained
For the present, as in the past,
And the future, to be chained;
To be ravaged, to be drained,
To be robbed, to be spoiled,
To be hushed, to be whipped,
Its soaring pinions to be clipped,
And its every effort foiled?"

THERE has been no period in the history of the world in which popular government was so nearly in the balance as in 1787, when the Federal Constitution was framed and adopted by the convention in old "Liberty Hall."

Long years of struggle for liberty, with varying success, had prepared the friends of freedom throughout the world for a determined resistance to the encroachments of usurped rights, and strike a blow that would effectually destroy its power on American soil, and give civil liberty an abiding place for all time to come.

Only in their possession for a brief period, and

before the plan for preserving it could be matured, the "eternal vigilance" so strenuously urged by its master spirit was relaxed, and the opportune moment was seized by the supporters of aristocratic government, who decided the fate of that memorable struggle, until the accumulating evils of vested powers in giant corporations will drive the people to another revolution, unless the wisdom and resolution of the present generation shall, by peaceful means, avert so terrible a calamity.

In 1777 the Continental Congress agreed upon the Articles of Confederation to secure a united resistance to the measures of Great Britain in holding the colonies in subjection to her control.

In the excitement of war—and during its darkest period for the colonies—these Articles were framed and agreed to; but when the war was over, and the busy pursuits of industry supervened, the vigilant activity and artful schemes for aristocratic rule succeeded in substituting instead a system of government beyond the power of the people to control.

Among the leading men of this period and for this work was Alexander Hamilton, ambitious, active, energetic, talented, and brave, and fully imbued with the spirit of aristocratic supremacy, and without any faith in the people's capacity for self-government.

At the close of the war he entered into politics and became the acknowledged leader of the Federalist, or aristocratic, party, the basic proposition of which is that "in all civilized countries the people are naturally divided into two classes: the one, the few, the rich, the well-born; the other, the many, the poor, the laboring masses." [This passage is approvingly quoted by Garfield, and credited to Hamilton.]

It will be remembered that deputies were sent to Annapolis in 1786 to revise the Articles of Confederation. Mr. Hamilton was a deputy from New York, and drafted an address to the State, which led to the convention by which the Federal Constitution was framed.

"The prevailing party in the New York legislature was little inclined to any material increase of authority of the Federal Government. Hamilton was appointed one of the delegates to that convention to revise the Articles of Confederation, which met at Philadelphia in the following May. He had, however, two colleagues, who together controlled the vote of the State, of decidedly opposite opinions." —*American Cyclopedia.*

Two projects were brought forward in that body: one known as the Virginia plan, which contemplated the functions of a national government, with a legislative, executive, and judiciary of its own.

Edmund Randolph of Virginia introduced a bill early in the proceedings of the convention, providing for a national government, but it underwent so many changes by amendment that he refused to support it, and finally, not only voted against the Constitution on its final passage, but used all his influence to prevent its ratification in his own State. This resolution gave rise to what is known as the Virginia plan.

Mr. Paterson of New Jersey introduced a resolution likewise, which had in contemplation the revision of the existing Articles of Confederation. His resolution having been rejected, Mr. Randolph's resolution, which had lost its original character by amendments, finally grew into the present Constitution of the United States.

"Mr. Hamilton set himself earnestly to work to incorporate his views of government into the organic law of the nation. As between the two plans above referred to, he strongly advocated the former, and sought to make it as strong as possible. His scheme included an Assembly to be elected by the people for three years; a Senate to be chosen by electors, to be chosen by the people, to hold office during good behavior; and a Governor chosen also for good behavior, by a similar but most complicated process. The Governor was to have an absolute negative on all laws, and the appointment of all officers, subject to the approval of the Senate. The Governors of the States were to be appointed by the General Government, and

were to have a negative on all state laws. The power of declaring war and ratifying treaties was to be vested in the Senate. He insisted in establishing a national government so powerful and influential as to create an interest in its support, extensive and strong enough to counterbalance the state governments and reduce them to subordinate importance."—*American Cyclopedia.*

In this scheme we recognize many important features of the existing Constitution, especially in creating a Senate and the manner of choosing it; in the Executive, and the mode of his election, his veto power, and many other features calculated to give strength to the Federal Government, as the immense patronage granted to officials and the control and disposition of public domain by Congress and the power vested in that body to create charters for individual enterprises whereby capital is amassed in the hands of the few to control the industrial interests of the people. These, with other vested powers, separate the people from the government, and give it a power beyond their control. This is virtually a surrender of popular government into the hands of usurpers.

The "self-evident truths" enunciated in the Declaration of Independence, which fired the hearts of the patriots, were ignored and set aside, and a scheme opposite in its tendency adopted in

that convention; and liberty, which had so recently won a brilliant victory on the field of battle, suffered an ignominious defeat in the attempt to secure its blessings for all coming time by the incorporation of its principles into a popular government

Upon the adjournment of the convention, Hamilton addressed himself with all his energies to secure its adoption; and soon there appeared a series of articles in a New York journal entitled "Federalist," in support of the new Constitution, and against the various objections in opposition to it. These articles reached the number of sixty-five, and exerted a strong influence on the scheme of government embraced in the Federal Constitution.

Under its provisions, he had the opportunity, at the head of Washington's first cabinet, to set in operation his favorite schemes of government. Among these were banks of issue, with which he had been connected many years. He immediately went to work to fund the national debt and establish a United States bank.

"Both the funding system and the bank were denounced 'as instruments of corruption, dangerous in the highest degree to the liberties of the people, and Hamilton as designing, by their means, to introduce aristocracy and monarchy.'"—*American Cyclopedia.*

He charged these attacks upon Jefferson, and urged the inconsistency of his holding a place in the administration which he assailed. Jefferson, on finding Hamilton's influence in Washington's cabinet predominant, retired from it.

JAMES MADISON was a strong and active Federalist at the time of the adoption of the Federal Constitution, and was in favor of vesting Congress with a power to exercise a negative in all cases whatever on the legislative acts of the States, "as heretofore exercised by the kingly prerogative." He was a strong advocate for the ratification of the Constitution, and joined Hamilton in the authorship of the series of articles entitled "Federalist." But in 1792, while a member of Congress, he changed his views, and became the avowed leader of the Republicans; and in 1798 drew up the resolutions for Virginia, as Jefferson had for Kentucky in the same year, to counteract the tendency of the alien and seditition laws passed in Adams's administration, known as the "Kentucky Resolutions."

ROBERT MORRIS was a man of great wealth and a stanch Federalist. When the first vote was taken on the Declaration of Independence, he voted against it (July 1, 1776), and on its adoption he refused to vote, urging that it was premature. He afterward contributed largely

to the support of the war; at one time issuing his notes to a large amount, which, however, was all paid. He warmly supported Hamilton in his views of government, and worked for the Constitution in the convention, and for its ratification in his own State.

JOHN RUTLEDGE and the two Pinckneys of South Carolina were active and influential Federalists, so were GOVERNEUR MORRIS and ROGER SHERMAN, who were all members of the Constitutional Convention, and seemed to realize the necessity of withholding the control of the government from the hands of the people.

It is important in this connection to say that these men were as much interested in the separation of the colonies from the home government as any engaged in the struggle. During that struggle there were three classes of men who felt a deep interest in its outcome. First, the patriots, with the spirit of liberty glowing in their breast, cheerfully and hopefully endured hardships, and made sacrifices, deeming nothing too costly in exchange for liberty. Second, a class of ambitious men fully imbued with aristocratic ideas, regarding the English theory of government as the nearest to perfection, and the great mass of the people as incapable of self-government; that "the few, the rich, the well-born," must

rule "the many, the poor, the laboring masses." The third were the tory class, who sympathized with the English side of the struggle, and secretly aided them all in their power. Their political views were of course like the second class; and when England acknowledged the independence of the States, they accepted the situation and united their fortunes with that class then known as the Federalist party. They realized the importance of the issue, and determined—no doubt with honest intentions—to secure the fruits of the separation by assuming the reins of government, thereby practically ignoring the rights of the people.

In opposition to the Federalists, who contended for a government with power so vested as to be beyond the reach of the people, were the patriots, of whom Thomas Jefferson was the true type and avowed leader, reduced to a minority in the convention by the united influence and wealth of the Federalists and Tories.

The majority proceeded to set aside the Articles of Confederation which they had been called together to revise, and seizing the golden opportunity, with closed doors and secret sessions, after four months' of stormy and angry debate, brought forth the body of the Federal Constitution (the first seven articles), and in the latter

part of the year 1787 submitted it to the States for ratification.

In connection with this period, the following account of Mr. Jefferson's character, as furnished by the American Cyclopedia, is here presented:

"The character of Mr. Jefferson as a man and a statesman is easily deduced from the events attending his career. He was an original thinker in every department of human concern, and essentially a reformer. In this will be found the explanation of his life. He had no respect for claims of right founded only upon prescription, and attached no decisive weight to authority. In the General Assembly under the Commonwealth, he attached the time-honored system of aristocratic and religious intolerance as in open conflict with natural right, and for that reason wrongful, however fully acquiesced in and respected by preceding generations. This want of reverence for king, parliament, and aristocracy accompanied him to the cabinet, and dictated his opposition to England.

"He carried everything to the test of abstract reason into matters of religion. Discarding faith as unphilosophical, he became an infidel; thus presenting the remarkable spectacle of a man of powerful mind and amiable disposition deeply venerating the moral character of the Saviour of the world, but refusing belief in his divine mission.

"In politics, Jefferson, from native bent of intellect, was the opponent to strong government, and always maintained that the world was governed too much. He was in favor of the free development of the exercise of human power, so far as was consist-

ent with the good order of society, and a jealous advocate of individualism. This fact colored and shaped his whole political theory. The strength of his convictions is obvious in the nature of the changes which he made in Virginia law, in regard to which he says: 'I considered four of these bills, passed or reported, as forming a system by which every fiber would be eradicated of an ancient or future aristocracy. . . . . The repeal of the laws of entail would prevent the accumulation and perpetuation of wealth in select families. The abolition of primogeniture and the equal partition of inheritances removed the feudal and unnatural distinctions which made one member of the family rich and all the rest poor. The restoration of the rights of conscience relieved the people of taxation for the support of a religion not theirs, for the establishment was truly the religion of the rich.' From the prevailing character of Virginia society at that period, no measures could have been more revolutionary.

"His aim was to overthrow the old domination of the ruling classes and raise the people. He carried the same principle to the study of the federal compact. Once convinced that the States-rights doctrine of restriction was the true theory of government, he fought for it with persistent energy. Thus commenced on the threshold of his entrance into the cabinet the long struggle against Hamilton, the Federal champion. 'The party which supported the Federal Constitution,' said Jefferson, 'was aristocratic and monarchical, desirous to draw over us the substance as they have already drawn the forms of the British government.' . . . .

"In social life he faithfully carried out his democratic principles. Born in a class which then en-

joyed a prestige and authority resembling that of the higher castes of India, he discarded every advantage which his birthright gave him, and mingled familiarly with the common people, as their equal, and no more. . . . . He was naturally a democrat, and held as a radical doctrine that one man is no more than another—or rather, deserves no higher privileges.

"He was opposed to the forms and ceremonies that characterized his predecessors in office, and abolished them to a very great extent, and aimed to do his work in a common-sense way and without ostentation. A committee had usually been appointed to inform the President of his election; but Jefferson declared it was more in consonance with the simplicity of republican institutions to communicate the intelligence through the common post-office. . . . . He was regarded as the epitome and incarnation of democracy as opposed to the old world of aristocracy. In the plain, good-humored man whom all might approach, clad in every-day garments, and scarcely distinguishable from an honest yeoman, the masses discovered a delightful contrast to the powdered and stately 'nabobs' of the past. . . .

"In his retirement, Jefferson was as powerful as in office. His hand was often felt as decisively, and his opinions, instilled into active minds holding high positions, became not seldom the ruling influences in public affairs. . . . .

"On the question of slavery, which arose two or three times during his career, his views are well known. He regarded the institution as a moral and political evil: as a moral evil because it was repugnant to his cherished convictions of the equal rights of man; and as a political evil from the assistance it offered to the old feudal system of aris-

tocracy which he opposed; and would most gladly have abolished the institution.

"He said that the people would remain virtuous as long as agriculture is the principal pursuit, which will be the case while there remain vacant lands in America. 'When we get piled upon one another in large cities, as in Europe, we shall become corrupt as in Europe, and go to eating one another as they do there.' . . . . He was a tender husband and father, a warm friend and delightful host."—*American Cyclopedia, loc. cit.*

Had Mr. Jefferson, who was then in Paris as Minister to France, been a member of that convention, there is no doubt but that it would have been materially changed. It is to be sincerely regretted that at this important juncture in our national affairs his commanding influence could not have been brought to bear, and his acknowledged ability exerted at a time and on an occasion the most needed.

EDMUND RANDOLPH, with a view of remedying the defects of the Articles of Confederation, early in the session introduced a resolution contemplating a plan for a national government clothed with the necessary sovereign functions; but by "amendments" it was soon transformed into an instrument that he not only relinquished, but combated with all his energy, not only in the convention, but in its ratification by his own State.

GEORGE MASON took an active part in the con-

vention, and always upon the liberal and democratic side. He maintained that no republican government could stand without the confidence of the people, and that confidence could only be secured by a direct election by the people. In this manner he favored the election of the President, and for one term only.

"He opposed the proposition to require a property qualification from voters, and spoke with great energy against the clause in the Constitution which prohibited the abolition of the slave trade till 1808, declaring that slavery was a source of national weakness and demoralization, and it was therefore essential that the General Government should have power to prevent its increase. In some of his attempts to render the Constitution more democratic, Mr. Mason was defeated in the convention, and when that instrument was completed he refused to sign it, declaring his apprehensions that it would result in monarchy or tyrannical aristocracy. He was especially dissatisfied with the extended and indefinite powers conferred on Congress and the Executive."—*American Cyclopedia, loc. cit.*

Subsequent experience has shown the sagacity and foresight of this eminent statesman, for we surely have a "tyrannical aristocracy."

GEORGE WYTHE joined his colleague in his efforts to defeat the encroachments of aristocratic ideas, and to support popular government.

ELBRIDGE GERRY of Massachusetts united his

powers with the little band of Patriots to resist aristocratic rule, and if possible to secure the blessings of a free government. He was untiring in his zeal and devotion, and gave to the cause all the energies of his soul.

JOHN LANSING and ROBERT YATES of New York worked and voted against the Federal Constitution, and when it came before their State for ratification, they were found still contending for the people's rights.

It is only necessary to mention the names of the remaining number of delegates who took part in the proceedings of the convention but refused to sign it. They were CALEB STRONG, OLIVER ELSWORTH, WILLIAM C. HOUSTON, JOHN F. MERCER, LUTHER MARTIN, JAMES MCCLURG, ALEXANDER MARTIN, WILLIAM R. DAVIE, WILLIAM PIERCE, and WILLIAM HOUSTON. The names of these sixteen illustrious men will serve as a protest to all coming generations against the overthrow of popular government by substituting an organic law which, in the language of Jefferson, "was aristocratic and monarchical, desirous to draw over us the substance as they have the forms of the British Government."

The power emanating from the people is vested in such a manner as to be beyond their control,

because the majority of that convention had no faith in the people, and were determined not to trust them.

The Constitution, which only assures the name of a republic, is made the instrument by which the people are held in bondage.

The cause which inspired a heroic people, involving the dearest and most sacred rights of humanity, was defeated in the formation and adoption of the Federal Constitution. The scenes of sanguinary strife, of suffering and sacrifice, must be re-enacted on a still grander scale ere the battle for freedom is won, unless the power of right wielded by the potency of justice is evoked for a peaceful and enduring victory.

We will close this brief account of this memorable and important struggle for a popular government, which resulted in a defeat of the people, in the language of a prominent American historian:

"On the 17th of September, 1787, the grand question finally came up for discussion. The Constitution was then signed by thirty-nine of the fifty-five members. It was next submitted to Congress, and by them submitted to the State legislatures, who were invited to call conventions to take it into consideration. The stipulation was, that it should come into operation as soon as nine States ratified it; but this was a matter of considerable difficulty.

"In 1787, it was adopted in conventions unani-

mously by Georgia, New Jersey, and Delaware, and by large majorities in Pennsylvania, Connecticut, Maryland, and South Carolina. Two, however, were still wanting before it could be acted on; hence, the Massachusetts convention, which met in the beginning of 1788, was viewed with intense interest. Its fate there appeared doubtful from local feelings and discontents. Hancock, who had been so conspicuous through the Revolution, strenuously opposed it without the admission of certain proposed amendments, by which State rights might be more fully guarded. It was supported by Fisher Ames [a prominent Federalist], and finally carried by the small majority of nine out of three hundred and fifty-five votes.

"In New Hampshire, the greater number of delegates came instructed to vote against it, but after an adjournment a majority of eleven was at last procured.

"The requisite number of nine States had thus been obtained, yet there were still wanting the important States of Virginia, New York, and North Carolina, without which it could scarcely be brought into action. In the first, the contest was long and fervid, and the displays of oratory are said to have been greater than any ever yet made in America. Madison, who at that time was a Federalist, took the lead in support of the measure; while Patrick Henry assailed it with eloquence almost unrivaled. He denounced it as a revolution more radical than that which had separated America from Britain. The convention had been delegated solely to amend the old federation, instead of which they had brought forward a great consolidated government, vesting in it the whole prerogatives, and leaving to the States merely the poor-laws, roads,

bridges, and other trifling concerns. In the warmth of debate he seemed to threaten resistance if the motion were carried; yet at last declared that even then he would remain a peaceful citizen, only devoting his head, his hand, and his heart to obtain redress in a constitutional manner. The measure was finally carried by a vote of eighty-eight to eighty.

"New York, thus left nearly alone, could only persevere at the cost of throwing herself entirely out of the Union. Yet though the measure was supported by Jay, Hamilton, and Livingston, statesmen of the highest character, it was carried only with a majority of five, and with the demand for the most extensive amendments."

Within a year from the time the old Congress declared the Constitution ratified and in force, ten amendments were added; nine of which are for the protection of personal liberty, and the tenth specifies the limit of federal powers, and guarantees all power not delegated by the Constitution as belonging "to the States respectively, or to the people."

The observant reader of the early history of our government will notice the sentiment of the leading statesmen in regard to the question of slavery.

Thomas Jefferson introduced a bill in the Virginia legislature to abolish slavery in that State, which was lost by a single vote, and in Congress he introduced a measure looking to final emancipation in 1800.

Mr. Mason's views have already been noticed, and the feeling among the Republicans and some of the Federalists was in favor of manumission.

But slavery was incorporated into the Constitution, and became a part of the government, with results calamitous beyond language to express or human thought to conceive. The Civil War placed the people in the condition out of which it took the slave, and transferred their masters from the Southern plantations to the factory pens, machine-shops, mining pits, and farms of the whole country.

The war was the result of constitutional provisions, but the cause of it was removed by violating them. It makes no provisions against secession, and the first advocates of it were the Federalists of New England. As early as 1811, Josiah Quincy of Massachusetts declared that if Louisiana was admitted with slavery, it would be good cause for the Northern States to withdraw from the Union. Mr. Poindexter of Louisiana called him to order, and demanded his language to be put in writing, which was done. The Speaker sustained the point of order, and Mr. Quincy appealed to the House, and upon a vote being taken the Speaker was overruled—thus showing the sentiment in the House of Representatives at that time to be in favor of secession.

The sole object of the Hartford Convention, held by the New England Federalists, was to take measures for secession, on account of the obstructions to their commerce by the necessities of war by a Republican administration.

It is by powers vested in the Constitution that the curse of corporate rule has corrupted the public service, and "established dominion over money, over transportation, over invention, and over land and labor."

The control given to monopolies by its authority or permission will grow still stronger; and the liberties of the people are becoming, day by day, less possible. It is the instrument of tyranny and oppression, and by its provisions the machinery of government is made to rob, plunder, impoverish, and enslave, instead of regulating the rights of the people and protecting them in their free exercise.

The facts of this history are well summed up in the following propositions by L. A. Fisher of Morris, Ill. In a letter to the author, he says:

"If I read your circular correctly, your object is to educate the people of this country in the fundamental facts of national reform guaranteed to the American people in that compact of Union, with reference to a restoration of the nation to its original republican base. If I mistake not the spirit of your field of labor, it comprises the following propositions:

"1. That the common blessings of Divine Providence are the indisputable equal right of all men and women to enjoy.

"2. That the denial of this right by the Crown of Great Britain constituted the main points of the struggle between the mother country and the colonists.

"3. That in the midst of this struggle, termed the Revolution, the thirteen colonies found that to carry on the war successfully it was indispensable that they unite in one body and work under one head.

"4. That such confederation was effected on the 4th of July, 1776, on terms of agreement set forth in an arranged compact, and witnessed by the autograph signatures of the contracting parties.

"5. That said act of confederation was to be perpetual, and form a nationality and government in keeping with the terms of this confederation, which guaranteed to every American citizen an equal and undisputed share in all of nature's bounties, regarded as 'endowments of the Creator.'

"6. That to accomplish the ends of this compact they saw no alternative but to cut loose from the parent stock and set up for themselves; and as a matter of necessity this determination was made part of the contract.

"7. That such confederation should be regarded as perpetual, and was so intended, stipulated, and specified, so long as the terms of confederation were sacredly regarded, forming a corporate national base under the title of 'The United States of North America,' and at the time assuming all the powers, rights, and immunities of nationality, and were so regarded by the nations of Europe.

"8. That the terms of said compact minutely and

definitely specify that the administration of the resultant executive department of said nationality shall be in strict unison with the charter stipulations aforesaid, and that any deviation from the spirit or letter of said guaranties shall nullify the contract at the option of the aggrieved party.

"9. That as a matter of course the executive details of government were to be instituted in the usual manner, through representative legislative action. When within one year, 1777, such effort was made under the disturbed state of the country, in the presence of an overpowering foreign enemy and a large influential tory class of their own citizens, in their midst in full sympathy with the enemy and totally opposed to the independent national action already taken, it is not strange that the first attempt to institute the executive details of government should prove a failure.

"10. And further, if I read your programme correctly, your object is to enlighten the people on the *crookedness* of the administration after peace was established with England. That a convention was soon called at Philadelphia, ostensibly to amend the first attempt at framing a constitution. At which time the soldiery were returned to society, and busily engaged with the people in the arts of peace, in restoring the waste of an eight years' war, the aristocratic and tory class were left to manage the details of government to suit their own *tory* proclivities; and that they stealthily conceived the expert scheme of reversing the patriot ardor as to nullify all the essential points for which the rebellion was inaugurated, except the mere fact of independence, and thereby secure all of those royal prerogatives inherited from the British Crown. This tory class found it convenient at this time to sufficiently pack

tne convention with their own order, to carry its deliberations.

"11. That to this end, when met, their first act was to form themselves into a secret conclave, knowing that if their attempts to change the national base from a republic to a mere constitutional government should get to the ears of he busy patriots, their scheme would not carry. Hence, the fifth rule in the order of business was, 'That nothing said or done in this convention should be communicated outside.' This done, the tory element prevailing, the attempt at revision was no longer thought of; and, ignoring all previous action of a national character, they went to work as though the United States had no previous existence, and they had met to give it birth and executive being.

"12. That after four months of secret deliberation, our present Constitution was formed—except the amendments—and brought forward for the popular patronage. The result has proved that this tory convention understood their purpose, and were adroit manipulators in changing the order of nationality and government, that not a vestige of the original republic now remains."

CHAPTER V.

THE ARTICLES OF CONFEDERATION AND THE FEDERAL CONSTITUTION.

"With treacherous art and traitor hand
Ambitious tyrants rule the land."

ALL things useful are liable to abuse; the evils of abuse are commensurate with the benefits of their use. The benefits secured by good government are only measured by the evils of bad government. How much of the one we may enjoy, or of the other we may suffer, will depend on the degree of wisdom the people bring to bear in their political affairs. The experience of a hundred years ought to lead to certain success. In former ages rulers sought power by force of arms and intrigues of courts; but the arts of modern diplomacy, "bossism," lobbyism, and judicial legerdemain have superseded the old methods with an improvement that does credit to the new school of politicians.

Our patriot fathers gave us the Declaration of Independence, and in it set forth the principles of a true republic. The Articles of Confederation gave us, for a brief period and in an imper-

fect manner, a republican form of government. They gave us the name, UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, under the form of a compact government.

Each State retained its sovereignty. All bodies, individual and political, must exercise sovereignty within their own spheres, for upon it unity depends. Local jurisdictions are sovereign in their local affairs. So are county and state. The Articles of Confederation did not confer national sovereignty in the exercise of those functions most essential to national unity and independence. The Confederation was a league of friendship and for common defense, without recognizing the necessity for a sovereign power to be exercised in their common interests and for their common good. A few years' experience showed the defects; the results of an attempt to remedy them have already been shown.

These Articles entitled the citizens of any State "to all the privileges and immunities of free citizens in the several States," and the privileges of trade and commerce, "subject to the same duties, impositions, and restrictions as the inhabitants thereof respectively," and "the right of requisition in case of fugitives."

The delegates "in Congress assembled" were sent annually by the several States, not less than

two nor more than seven, "with a power reserved to each State to recall its delegates or any of them at any time within the year, and send others in their stead for the remainder of the year."

No person was capable of being a delegate for more than three years in any term of six years.

Each State was to maintain its own delegates in every meeting of the States.

Freedom of speech and debate was guaranteed while in the discharge of their official duties, and adequate protection to their persons.

These provisions are in accordance with the true principles of republican government. Representation in the national legislative body is properly limited and regulated. The reservation of power to recall public servants and send others in their stead is most salutary and important.

It is an essential provision, based on the right of the employer to hold his employee responsible. Another provision is made by which the delegates are maintained by their respective States. The compensation of officers should be determined by the people, and specified in the Constitution of their government—an oversight, not one of the least of the defects of the federal organic law.

Power is delegated to be exercised for the

people's benefit, and should at all times be under their supervision and control, and returned at stated periods to the people, by the expiration of the term of office.

All the forces in nature move in cycles. The seasons come and go; the mists from the ocean's bosom are lifted by atmospheric pressure, and wafted by the winds to the mountains summits. They return in rivulets and streams to the source from whence they came, fertilizing the soil and beautifying the face of nature.

So of moral, social, and political forces in their rounds, peaceful, quiet, free. In a well-regulated government, with the expiration of the term of office the power delegated flows back to the people; but when no provision is made for such return, and power is suffered to be vested, retained, and exercised for the benefit of a privileged class, its return is sure, nevertheless. It is only delayed, yet when it comes, like the escape of pent-up waters, it brings violence and destruction in its course.

Revolution is the natural order of things, both in the domain of the material and moral world, and the law is alike in both. The normal condition is FREEDOM. All obstructions and interruptions produce violence alike in both. Common sense and experience would dictate measures

for the peaceful return of power delegated to the people's representatives; for *it will come*, peacefully if the people are wise; otherwise, inspired by the most malignant passions, it will come by the torch and the bayonet.

Provisions were made in the Articles of Confederation for mutual defense, and forbidding alliances of the States in their sovereignty with foreign powers; for organizing land forces by the States, reserving to them the right to appoint all officers below the rank of colonel. All charges of war and other expenses for common defense were to be defrayed out of the common treasury, "which shall be supplied by the several States in the proportion of all land within each State granted to or surveyed for any person, and such land and the buildings and improvements thereon shall be estimated according to such mode as the United States in Congress assembled shall from time to time direct and appoint." The taxes for paying that proportion was to be laid and levied by the authority and direction of the legislatures of the several States within the time agreed upon by the United States in Congress assembled.

Provisions for regulating all international matters, granting letters of marque and reprisal in times of peace, appointing courts for receiving

and determining final appeals in all cases of captures; and also the last resort on appeal in all disputes and differences between States in regard to boundaries, "or any other cause whatever," prescribing the method, which was by arbitration.

"The United States in Congress assembled shall also have the sole and exclusive right and power of regulating the alloy and value of coin struck by their own authority or that of the respective States," and "to emit bills of credit." Subsequent experience has shown that had Congress issued its notes with the promise to *receive* them in payment of all government dues, instead of a promise *to pay* in silver coin for public service, they would have remained at par with such coin as long as the government existed. In 1811 such notes were issued which maintained their value with gold and silver, based on their legal tender for public dues only, notwithstanding all the efforts of the bankers and money-dealers to drive them out of circulation. And all subsequent issues of that character have maintained a par value, with one slight exception.

Had such provision been made no financial difficulties would have arisen. The pressure that moved to the call of a convention for a revision of the Articles of Confederation arose from this

deficiency, and no doubt would have been remedied, had the Republican party been successful in securing a majority of delegates of their party to that convention. Indeed, Edmund Randolph, a strong and uncompromising Republican, moved for national sovereignty by which such measures could be carried out; but, as has been seen his plans were defeated.

The Articles of Confederation provided for the appointment by Congress of "one of their number to preside, provided that no person be allowed to serve in the office of President more than one year in any term of three years," and to adjourn from place to place. Congress, under the Articles, was only a deliberative body, charged with certain specified functions, delegated by the States for their safety and welfare. Every State was pledged "to abide by the determinations of the United States in Congress assembled, which by this Confederation are submitted to them. And the Articles of Confederation "shall be inviolably observed by every State, and the *Union shall be perpetual.*

"And we do further solemnly plight and engage the faith of our respective constituents, that they shall abide by the determinations in Congress assembled on all questions which by the said Confederation are submitted to them, and that

the Articles thereof shall be inviolably observed by the States we respectively represent, and that the Union shall be perpetual."

Thus, the first effort for the realization of the aspirations and long-cherished hopes of the oppressed of every land was made on American soil.

This immortal document was signed by forty-eight members of the old Continental Congress, on the 9th day of July, 1778, without a dissenting voice; among whom were the most active, daring, and uncompromising of the patriot heroes of the Revolution; while only thirty-nine of the fifty-five signed the Federal Constitution, and sixteen opposed it. Only three of the signers of the Declaration signed the Constitution—one of whom, Benjamin Franklin, did so under protest; while sixteen of them signed the Articles of Confederation.

Had the Articles of Confederation been so amended as to have consolidated their power by conferring sovereignty upon the United States, with provisions for carrying out republican principles, no one could tell what the results would have been. No United States bank would have been established on the English system of specie basis, which, once getting a foothold, has enabled the bankers to control the finances of the country.

No land tenures by which the national domain is being rapidly absorbed for speculation and monopoly, thus reducing the people to a condition of tenantry; no legislative system by which an aristocratic Senate thwarts the people's will, and secures class legislation for the favored few; no scheming devices by which law has become the tyrant instead of the protector.

No executive system vesting in its chief officer a power greater than that of the English monarch; with an army of supporters a hundred thousand strong—a power wholly beyond the control of the people, and utterly indifferent to their welfare.

No judiciary system borrowed from Great Britain, with its hot-bed of corruption; its intricate, costly, dilatory, and uncertain administration of law, to say nothing of justice, with its vast army of trained and skilled professionals. Whatever judiciary system would have been adopted, it certainly would not have been one originating in the feudal ages to serve the purposes of monarchy, but no doubt would have been one subject to modification and control by the people.

No monopolies with their blighting effects on industry; creating poverty, degradation, and crime; despotism, avaricious, unscrupulous, an-

bitious, and relentless, by which capital is fostered and protected and labor debased and despoiled. These were never contemplated, nor even dreamed of, as the outcome of that memorable struggle for independence and freedom; but were the very results they strove so hard to prevent. That struggle must be renewed. Happily, we have the ballot yet, and this must be the instrumentality by which our independence and liberty are to be gained.

In contrast with the form and spirit of the Articles of Confederation, a review of the Federal Constitution is presented. The burden of effort by "eminent constitutional lawyers," as Judge Story, Daniel Webster, and others, has been to make it conform to "common law"; but so many-sided, complicated, and profoundly intricate are the subtleties that the greatest genius of any age or country is unable to cope with them, and we have questions of "constitutional law" that will remain forever unsettled.

A constitution that requires the talent of a Webster to interpret is not suitable for the people, for a thorough comprehension of the fundamental principles that enter into the structure of a popular government is essential to such government, and were no other objection open to it, that alone would condemn it. But aside from

this, there are many other serious and fatal ones. The most important are here enumerated.

It vests powers in the various governmental departments beyond the reach and control of the people, thus changing the form of government to a constitutional aristocracy. Ambitious and designing men seek positions at the heads of these departments, and thus exercise the functions of government in their own interest and for their sole benefit.

It complicates the legislative system by creating a senatorial branch, and rendering the election of Senators impossible by a popular vote. There can be no advantage in two distinct branches of one body.

"The objections against two Houses are, first, that there is an inconsistency in any part of a whole legislature coming to a final determination by a vote on any matter whilst *that matter* with respect to *that whole* is yet only in train of deliberation, and consequently open to new illustrations. Second, that by taking a vote on each as a separate body, it always admits of the possibility, and is often the case in practice, that the minority governs the majority, and that in some instances to a great degree of inconsistency. Third, two Houses arbitrarily checking or controlling each other is inconsistent, because it cannot be proved on the principles of just representation that either should be wiser or better than the other. They may check in the wrong as well as in the right, and therefore to give them the

power where we cannot give the wisdom to use it, nor be assured of its being rightly used renders the hazard at least equal to the protection."—*Paine's Rights of Man.*

An instance illustrating Mr. Paine's third objection is found in senatorial interference early in the history of the Civil War. A bill passed the House of Representatives to authorize the Secretary of the Treasury to issue legal-tender notes to defray the expenses of the war. That bill was "checked" in the Senate, robbed of its authority to issue such notes, and the result is, untold millions of debt, resulting in robbery and oppression on the one hand, and poverty, debt, crime, and misery on the other.

There are ample means for preventing evils in a single legislative body, and provisions for submitting any measure to the people for approval can be easily made.

Another serious objection to the senatorial branch is that its powers are employed by the wealthy and aristocratic classes for their special interest and benefit.

The following editorial extract from a leading Democratic journal, in commenting on the California (Democratic) legislative proceedings, says:

"Speaking generally, the Assembly did much better than the Senate. Its record on vital issues

is good. Had all the bills passed by it become laws, the rights of the people would have been better protected. The Senate has been the theater of manipulation and evil practices. Useful and essential legislation has in several instances been stifled."

It is no uncommon thing to "stifle" useful and essential legislation by senatorial "checks," "manipulations," and "evil practices."

In the executive department excessive powers are vested. Beside the military and naval authority vested in the President, and the veto power by which he can render nugatory the action of Congress to the extent reaching a majority of two-thirds lacking one, the appointment of the judges of the United States Supreme Court and other Federal courts, and all foreign ministers and embassadors, he has the power to appoint a body-guard of one hundred thousand strong, of party supporters, over none of whom the people have any control.

In regard to the third (judicial) department, there is no necessity, on the assumption that the people are capable of self-government. Laws can be so clearly expressed that there is no need of supporting a costly institution, with an army of hungry cormorants attached, to explain what may be made plain to any ordinary mind.

"If we permit our judgment to act unencumbered by the habit of multiplied terms, we can per-

ceive no more than two divisions of power of which civil government is composed; namely, that of legislating or enacting laws, and that of executing or administering them. Everything, therefore, appertaining to civil government, classes itself under one or the other of these two divisions. So far as regards the execution of the laws, that which is called judicial power is strictly and properly the executive power of every country. It is that power to which any individual has an appeal, and which causes the laws to be executed."—*Paine's Rights of Man.*

In this respect, as in all others, our government is made to conform to that of England, and the inevitable result is a condition of the people in all respects similar—so far as government is concerned—to that of England.

A like system of land tenures, by which hundreds of millions of acres are held by a few, while millions of people are homeless and struggling in hopeless poverty, with all the evils of land monopoly rapidly increasing.

A like monetary system, by which the volume of currency is controlled by corporations for their own benefit.

A like system of legislation, by which two distinct legislative bodies are created to correspond with the House of Lords and House of Commons, by which legislation for the people is thwarted and schemes for enriching the few at the expense of the many made easy.

A like executive system, by which the power is vested in a citizen that magnifies him to the proportions of a monarch.

A like judiciary system, that brings with it the accumulation of hundreds of years of reports of decisions which are made to serve as precedents, and complicated and intricate methods of pleading, necessitating a class of skilled experts who alone are permitted to be heard in the pursuit of justice or in defense of wrongs in behalf of their clients.

All these are in direct violation of the principles and affirmations as clearly set forth in the Declaration of Independence, and were incorporated in a government formed by the memorable convention held in Philadelphia in 1787, in the name of freedom and popular rights.

Its logical results are seen to-day in a government in the present order of things, in which landlords and tenants, millionaires and paupers, palaces and hovels, masters and slaves, are rapidly and inevitably increasing, and in which crime, under the guise and protection of law, holds sway over a people robbed, impoverished, and practically disfranchised.

CHAPTER VI.

HISTORY OF POLITICAL PARTIES IN THE UNITED STATES, AND THE EVILS OF PARTY SPIRIT.

"My ear is pained,
My soul is sick with every day's report
Of wrong and outrage with which the land is filled.
There is no flesh in man's obdurate heart;
It does not feel for man; the natural bond
Of brotherhood is severed as the flax
That falls asunder at the touch of fire."

It is sufficient for our purpose to date the origin of those causes that in the events of history have culminated in the political parties of the United States to the Norman invasion.

In the eleventh century, William of Normandy crossed the English Channel with an armed force, overpowered the Saxon monarch, and took possession of his kingdom. He parceled out the land to his officers, requiring of them allegiance to his crown and military service as compensation therefor. These lands were let for a rental which secured to the landlords an income, as they were worked by the conquered people, most of whom went with the land.

In the course of time the military service was exchanged for contributions in money, with

which armies were raised and equipped. As events progressed, the nobility—as William's officers and courtiers were called—began to clamor for more rights and privileges, which in the reign of King John were conceded and specified in the Magna Charta. The party under its authority increased in strength and efficiency so as to effectually limit the power of the king.

In the mean time, England became a great maritime power, and when enterprises were opened by the discoveries in the western continent, they were largely entered into by Great Britain, by which extensive additions of territory were made to her dominions. Especially was this the case along the eastern coast of the Atlantic, extending from the Gulf of Mexico to Newfoundland. Stimulated by the spirit of enterprise, British subjects came over to the colonies and built up societies, calling into requisition political institutions which became objects of interest to the home government.

In a country so distant and possessing such abundant natural resources, the people became more self-reliant, and the love of liberty, which first found expression in religious dissensions in the mother country, blazed afresh amid the freedom of nature in the New World. The spirit of independence was fostered, and grew unconscious-

ly, as evidenced by the increasing resistance to the tyranny of the home government; and the disposition to assert their natural rights finally became so strong that an open revolt was the result. Thus originated the Patriot or Republican party. In that revolt, the party demanding natural rights, supported by sympathy and material aid from France, Holland, and Spain, and voluntary exiles from other lands, compelled an acknowledgment of independence.

This was the first real victory for freedom based on a recognition of the natural, equal, and inalienable rights of man. But brief was its triumph. The advocates of vested power derived from kingly authority were unceasing in their vigilance, and when the occasion arose for improving the form of government adopted for the preservation of these rights so gloriously won, a plan was consummated that established in the organic act of the new government the principles of the party that originated with William the Conqueror.

This party was at this time led by Alexander Hamilton, whose fundamental doctrine was that of a natural and inherent division of the people of all civilized countries into distinct classes—the rich and the poor, the rulers and the ruled; and so thoroughly was he imbued with this idea

that he sought with all his energies to frame a government whose powers were as far removed from the control of the people as a government republican in form could be.

In 1786, Mr. Madison, at that time an ardent adherent to Hamilton's views, proposed in the Virginia legislature a convention of deputies to meet at Annapolis, to revise the form of government then existing. Hamilton, a deputy from New York at that convention, presented a plan which was adopted by that convention, for a general convention of all the States to revise the Articles of Confederation. At that convention, which met in May, 1787, the dominant party, known as the Federalist, ignoring the grand and fundamental idea of the divinity and equality of human rights that was the inspiration of the patriot fathers, and for which they sacrificed so much blood and treasure to gain, succeeded in overthrowing them, and establishing a government based on vested powers, over which the people have no control, and whose chief officers are not elected directly by the people nor responsible to them—a government more favorable to aristocratic rule than that which the Revolutionary fathers had struggled so hard to free themselves from.

But scarcely a decade had passed after its

adoption, before the party of equal rights were once more victorious; but the Federal Constitution had fixed the limits and prescribed the powers of the government and determined its character. This will continue until the people once more demand their natural rights, and a government based on them.

Thomas Jefferson, who declared that "the party who supported the Federal Constitution was aristocratic and monarchical," was absent on a foreign mission, and the country lost his services at home when they were the most needed. All the Republicans exhausted their utmost energies to defeat the measure; and denounced it as no better than the government they had sought to free themselves from. They demanded the recognition and establishment of the principles upon which our independence was won. They declared that the party that had set aside the Articles of Confederation purposely ignored the natural rights of man, and established a government with powers so vested that the people could not control them, which was a virtual defeat of popular government.

From the commencement of the present century up to 1824, foreign difficulties kept the people so well united that party spirit was not so manifest. However, in 1811, Josiah Quincy, a

rank Federalist, declared that disunion would be justifiable under certain circumstances; and in 1812, the Hartford Convention was called—a Federalist movement—to take into consideration the necessity of the New England States seceding on account of the embargo laid on their commerce by the government. With these exceptions, no important events occurred to indicate their designs.

Upon the accession of Mr. Monroe to the Presidency, in 1817, party lines seemed almost imperceptible. In reply to an address of the citizens of Maine, he said: "The farther I advance in my progress in the country, the more I perceive that we are all Americans; that we compose but one family. . . . . Nothing could give me greater satisfaction than to behold a perfect union among ourselves—a union which is necessary to restore to social intercourse its former charms, and to render our happiness as a nation unmixed and complete." He believed the people were unanimous in their opinions, and "that no second party was necessary to the well-being of the government." As evidence of the unanimity of party feeling, Mr. Monroe was re-elected in 1820, by a vote of 231 out of 232—the whole number of electoral votes.

How differently Presidents talk in these days!

Party spirit rules; officials live and thrive on it, and do all in their power to foster and keep it up.

During the Presidential campaign of 1824, party spirit, which had been quiet—with the exceptions above noticed—for nearly a quarter of a century, began to revive, and by the next Presidential election rose to a considerable height. Various causes contributed to this result; no doubt among them were the cessation of hostilities, the increase of local interests as new States were added to the Union, and the conflict of interests arising from increasing industries. But most of all was the prospect held out by Andrew Jackson, who had become a prominent candidate for President, of a removal of office-holders—at least, of such as were not strongly on their side—and the distribution of their places as spoils to the victors; that is, rewards for electioneering purposes, which were fully carried out upon his accession to the Presidency in 1828. Since then the practice thus inaugurated has tended to intensify party spirit by appeals to personal ambition and selfish aims, rather than honest differences in regard to political principles and policies of government, which characterized the Federal and Republican parties previous to that time. This gave a different turn to the politics of the country, being thus transferred from the

domain of politic science to that of personal strife for party supremacy and the spoils of office.

The vast powers conferred by the Constitution upon the President has made that office the object of the most zealous and determined pursuit, and the great parties have become mere factions, organized for the sole purpose of profit, power, and prestige; and have lost sight of the people's interests altogether. In view of these facts, how foolish and short-sighted it is to be carried away by party spirit, to train under the whip of some leader for the sole purpose of elevating him to power!

But we must not lose sight of the old Federal party. During Jackson's administration, under a new name, and stimulated by his hostility to one of their favorite and most reliable schemes—the United States bank—their leaders made a grand effort to defend it, and by gaining party control fix it upon a lasting basis. It will be remembered that the occasion of this struggle was the attempt to renew the charter of the National Bank, which would expire in 1836.

Failing in that, they gave their attention to State banks, and by the time of the outbreak of the Civil War they had acquired the financial ability to cope with and control the nation's treas-

ury, which enabled them to dictate the creation of corporations for the purpose of monopolizing the currency, by which commerce, trade, and all the industries of the country are controlled, and thus bring the wealth-producer and wage-earner to a condition of servile dependence.

Since the Civil War, this element has absorbed the most wealthy of both the old parties, and creating itself into an oligarchy, controls the action of both the dominant parties in all the departments of the government. In 1868 the Democratic party had declared a policy not altogether favorable to their interests—that is, payment of national bonds according to the provisions by which they were purchased, and they set themselves to work and defeated it. In 1872 Grant's re-election was necessary to carry out the plans they had so successfully inaugurated during his first administration, and Mr. Greeley was sacrificed to secure it. In 1876 the Democratic nominee for President received 157,037 more votes than his competitor, who, however, was installed into office because he was the choice of the oligarchy; and during that administration, though the Democrats had a majority on joint ballot of 13, no measures were introduced and matured from either party looking to the interests of the people.

In a word, the old Federal party, that gave us the Constitution, has gained a permanent control, attracting to its ranks many from modern democracy; it has retired from the field of party strife, and is enabled to hold sway by manipulating its own rank and file, as well as the other party, through its tools, the politicians, who are satisfied to take their chances in the scramble for office, depending for success upon their appeals to party spirit; and by prejudices and animosities, stimulated by party zeal aroused by subsidized journals, stump oratory, bold and artful misrepresentation and reckless promises, they manage to keep the people in subjection to their interests.

In our present condition there is no hope of relief from the oppression and robbery carried on under the provisions and sanctions of the Federal Constitution. By it powers are vested in and exercised by giant corporations, who are able to clothe all their crimes in the habiliments of law, and succeed in impressing upon the people the sanctity and inviolability of all government proceedings. By the power it vests in the chief executive, it makes this office so much the object of pursuit that ambitious and unprincipled men resort to all means in their power to gain it.

Party spirit is becoming stronger under the stimulus of increasing patronage and emolu-

ments and more thorough discipline; and elections are merely ratifications of conventions controlled in the interest of great corporations, the culmination of the old Federal party.

Such officers so elected recognize no responsibility to the people, and over whom the people have no control whatever. In private business the employer claims and exercises control over his employee; in public business the reverse is the case. This reversal is despotism, and must end in revolution in some way.

Thus it will be seen that the prevailing party of to-day, which sways political factions for selfish and ambitious ends, is the same party that prevailed in the convention that framed the Federal Constitution, and dating its origin to the act of King John at Runymede, in 1215. Emanating from royalty and granted to nobility, it still retains its aristocratic character, and has established that condition in society which Hamilton ascribed to natural causes. The people *are* divided into two classes—"the few, the rich, the well-born," and "the many, the poor, the laboring masses"—by the power of unjust laws.

The real evils of party spirit consist in the bias it creates, the animosities and prejudices it engenders, and the blind zeal and reliance upon party leaders it inspires and promotes, thus de-

feating the very purposes intended in establishing popular government.

Passionate attachment to party disqualifies the mind for deliberation and judgment, without which free government cannot exist. It leads to opposition of interests and strife, compelling the people to take up the interests of individuals instead of interests of public concern. This will inevitably be the case when the aims and objects of party are the spoils of office. Party spirit now becomes the instrument of designing men, as we have so often seen manifested in political "bossism" within the last few years.

Washington's Farewell Address is as applicable to the people of to-day as it was in 1796; and his views in regard to the evils of party spirit apply more forcibly now than ever before in the history of our government. He says:

"I have already intimated the danger of parties in the State, with particular reference to the founding of them on geographical discriminations. Let me now take a more comprehensive view, and warn you in the most solemn manner against the baneful effects of the spirit of party generally.

"This spirit is unfortunately inseparable from our nature, having its root in the strongest passions of the human mind. It exists under different shapes in all governments, more or less stifled, controlled, or repressed; but in those of the popular form it is seen in its greatest rankness, and is truly their worst enemy.

"The alternate domination of one faction over another, sharpened by the spirit of revenge natural to party dissensions, which in different ages and countries has perpetrated the most horrid enormities, is itself a frightful despotism. But this leads me at once to a more formal and permanent despotism. The disorders and miseries which result gradually incline the minds of men to seek security and repose in the absolute power of an individual, and sooner or later the chief of some prevailing faction, more able or more fortunate than his competitors, turns this disposition to the purposes of his own elevation on the ruins of public liberty.

"Without looking forward to an extremity of this kind (which nevertheless ought not to be entirely out of sight), the common and continual mischiefs of the spirit of party are sufficient to make it the interest and duty of a wise people to discourage and restrain it. It serves always to distract the public councils and enfeeble the public administration. It agitates the community with ill-founded jealousies and false alarms, kindles the animosity of one part against the other, foments occasionally riot and insurrection. It opens the door to foreign influence and corruption, which find a facilitated access to the government itself through the channels of party passion. Thus, the policy and will of our country are subject to the policy and will of another.

"There is an opinion that parties in free countries are useful checks upon the administration of the government, and serve to keep alive the spirit of liberty. This, within certain limits, is probably true, and in governments of a monarchical cast, patriotism may look with indulgence, if not with favor, upon the spirit of party. But in those of a

popular character, in governments purely elective, it is a spirit not to be encouraged. From their natural tendency, it is certain there will always be enough of that spirit for every salutary purpose. And there being constant danger of excess, the effort ought to be by force of public opinion to mitigate and assuage it. A fire not to be quenched, it demands a universal vigilance to prevent its bursting into a flame, lest, instead of warming, it should consume."

To the reflecting mind a retrospect of the history of party spirit will disclose the sagacity, wisdom, and forethought expressed in the solemn warning of this illustrious man. They are seen in the recent elections. Without an issue of the least importance to the interests of the people, the two political parties, by appeals to party spirit, and arousing public passion, they drew to their ranks millions of adherents, the sole purpose of which was the contest for supremacy of the one party or the other. In this way, questions which should command the attention of the people, and the understanding of which is essential to their interest, are thus diverted from consideration and discussion. All questions of great importance are thus neglected, and the people's minds filled with prejudice and mutual hatred, they are not qualified to act intelligently. Popular government is in this way defeated, and party spirit is the chief instrumentality by which the defeat is accomplished.

CHAPTER VII.

REVIEW OF OUR JUDICIARY SYSTEM.

"For sparing justice feeds iniquity."

"There's a fish hangs in the net like a poor man's rights in the law."

As civilization advances, the ruder and less developed institutions gradually yield to more advanced and mature.

Each onward step is attended with difficulty in proportion as the people are rude and undeveloped. The conservative element here asserts its prerogative, and the conflict is between error, supported by prejudice, bigotry, and the aggrandizement of those whose interests it supports on the one hand, and the light of advancing thought expressed in new ideas, sought to be applied to the welfare of society, on the other.

So firmly do laws and institutions once established remain fixed, and so easily are prejudices excited for them, that it is no difficult thing for interested parties to retain the old and prevent the new.

Thus a judiciary system, established hundreds of years ago, in the feudal ages, in a monarchi

in the same condition; for the laws are accessible to very few; and if one wishes a legal opinion, it costs him a good round fee—an opinion that generally leads to litigation, and is stoutly denied by the opposing counsel, who is of equal ability.

It is not strange that men eminent in the legal profession should disagree in the most vital points of law; for when we come to consider that law is a vast accumulation of rules, regulations, orders, decisions, opinions, speculations, theories, legislative enactments, and customs, running back to "the time the memory of man knoweth not to the contrary"; when we further consider the machinery for its administration is so complicated, cumbersome, intricate, dilatory, and uncertain—we cease to wonder at the diversity of opinion; for it requires more than human ability to comprehend the whole. But the great wonder is, that since simple justice is all the people demand, and that its administration is so simple, easy, certain, direct, and less costly, that it does not take the place of the present burdensome and oppressive system.

There is no reason why the people should tolerate and suffer from such a judiciary system. If the laws were written in plain, clear, and explicit language, so that all could read and understand

them, and easy, simple, and direct methods of administration devised, the objects and purposes of law would be accomplished at very little cost and infinite relief to the people.

The history of judicial proceedings is one of injustice, cruelty, and tyranny. It is a history of fraud, crime, and oppression perpetrated in a legal way. Its great feature is the conviction of poor and obscure offenders, and the infliction of heavy penalties; while wealthy criminals and those occupying prominent positions in society are allowed almost perfect immunity: the former to "vindicate the law" and spread terror among the lower classes; the latter serves for an immense revenue to the profession, and is a consideration for compounding crime in high places.

In the attempted compromise between the robber chiefs of the Mussel Slough land-steal and the settlers thereon, Mr. Huntington said in substance: "We have the government to back us up; the settlers can do nothing."

Instances of outright forgeries, recognized by judicial enactments, and nailed by precedents, are numerous; as instance the Broderick Will Case, the outlines of which are here presented:

"David C. Broderick, a United States Senator from California, fell in a duel with David S. Terry, in this city and county, and died a few days there-

after, September 16, 1859. He left an estate in San Francisco of the value of about three hundred thousand dollars. It was generally believed that he left no kindred; in fact, he was reported to have so declared a long time before his death. During the few days which passed between his injury and his decease, he said nothing in regard to having any kin, or having made any will. After his death, a thorough search among his papers and effects was made, but no will was discovered, and the public administrator took charge of the estate.

"On the 20th of the following February John A. McGlynn and Andrew J. Butler presented to our Probate Court and had filed for probate a document which purported to be the last will and testament of David C. Broderick, in which they were named as executors without bonds, in connection with George Wilkes of New York City. It disposed of the entire estate in two brief paragraphs—to John A. McGlynn was given $10,000, to George Wilkes the residue.

"On the day appointed for hearing the application of McGlynn and Butler for letters testamentary, various persons appeared, claiming to be heirs, and contested the proposed paper on the ground that it was forged. The trial was set for June 18, 1860, when it was commenced, and it continued until October 8th following. Many witnesses were examined and depositions were read of persons residing in New York. On the date last given, the Probate Court (Judge Blake) held the alleged will to be genuine, admitted it to probate, and appointed McGlynn and Butler executors without bonds. Appeals were taken by the claimants, or those declaring themselves to be heirs, which were dismissed for want of prosecution. (It would not

puzzle the average lawyer to guess how this came about.)

"The executors, in the course of administration, obtained an order of court authorizing them to sell, either at private or public sale, the whole or any portion of the estate. The sale was advertised for November 30, 1861. On November 29, 1861, the Attorney-General, Thomas H. Williams, on behalf of the State, and on the relation of Frank M. Pixley, Esq., Attorney-General elect, but not yet in office, filed in the Fourth District Court an information alleging that Broderick had died intestate and without heirs, and that his estate had escheated to the State of California. On the same day he commenced in the same court a suit in equity to obtain an injunction against the sale of the estate by McGlynn and Butler. A temporary restraining order was issued pending the information.

"On the hearing it was claimed by the plaintiff that the forgery was accomplished after this manner: Butler, who was in this State when Broderick died, and afterwards, conceived the job; and going to New York, confederated with Moses E. Flanagan, James R. Maloney, George Wilkes, John J. Hoff, and Alfred A. Phillips. Flanagan, who had been in the habit of using, by consent, Broderick's senatorial frank, wrote simulated signatures on several sheets of paper. Phillips wrote the will above one of those signatures, and he and Hoff signed their names as witnesses. It was not disclosed where the alleged will was discovered. It purported to have been made in the city of New York, on January 2 (Sunday), 1859.

"McGlynn, who was not charged with the forgery, was the only defendant who appeared. He denied on information and belief all the allegations of the

complaint. His defense was that the will was genuine, and that the decree of the Probate Court admitting the document to probate was final and conclusive, and could not be questioned by any other court—under the statute which provided that after the lapse of one year from the probate of a will the probate shall be conclusive.

"Judge Hager held that this statute did not preclude courts of equity from setting aside wills the probate of which had been procured by fraud. He said: 'It seems like an anomaly in law that by any course of reasoning, based on principle and legal authority, we should attempt to establish the validity of a forged will, which is of itself a nullity, or of its probate procured by fraud and perjury; and if successfully done, I fear it would be a reflection upon our institutions and a stain upon our jurisprudence. . . . . It is urged that equity will not interfere, even if it be established that the will is a forgery, and its probate procured by fraud and perjury. If this be sound in principle and supported by authority, we deduce a controlling principle of law to the following effect: That if a person successfully consummates the forgery of a will, and by fraud and perjury gets it admitted to probate, and for one year thereafter conceals the evidence of his crime, he may acquire an estate. . . . . Such a principle would seem to be in violation of natural justice, absolute rights, and public policy. . . . . I am not able to understand why a forged will should be placed upon any footing different from a forged deed.'

"Having declared that the only satisfactory evidence in the case was that evinced by the will itself, Judge Hager proceeded:

"'An inspection of the will discloses to the

senses some peculiar phenomena, and many remarkable visible signs that are suggestive and circumstantially strong against the probable truth of some of the defendants' evidence.. It is manifest to the eye that, in the signature "D. C. Broderick," and in the words "John J. Hoff, 131 and 133 Washington Street, Hoboken, N. J.," the ink of the one is of a darker tint than that of the other, and that both are much darker-hued than the writing composing the body of the document and the certificate of attestation. In the last-mentioned instance it is so demonstrable, upon mere inspection, that I can hardly suppose the entire document and signatures were written on the same occasion, at the same table, and with the same ink, as we are led to infer was the case from the testimony of Phillips and Hoff.

"'The will consists of one sheet of letter paper; the signature is on the third line of the second page, and is succeeded by the certificate of the subscribing witnesses.

"'The body of the will contains twenty-one lines of manuscript. Of these, eighteen are entire lines, without interlineation. As the lines approximate the signature the letters become gradually and very perceptibly smaller, and the words were more condensed and crowded, and in the last line a few of the words are carried beyond the marginal line, which is the only instance where it occurs, either in the body of the will or the certificate. . . . . These phenomena, so remarkable and extraordinary, apparent upon the face of the will, and established in some respects with the certainty of a mathematical demonstration, are unexplained, and, in view of the evidence, cannot upon any reasonable hypothesis be attributed to chance or accident.

The ordinary manuscript of a scrivener would scarcely ever exhibit such marked peculiarities. If, however, as some of the evidence tends to indicate, the name "D. C. Broderick" *was first written*, and that alleged signature and the initial line on the first page formed a Procrustean bed, in which the body of this alleged will was placed and made to conform to it, we have a solution.'

"The judge ordered the injunction issued as prayed for. McGlynn appealed, and a memorable argument followed before the Supreme Court. Messrs. Hoge and Wilson represented the appellant, and succeeded in upholding the will. Judge Hager's injunction was dissolved. James B. Haggin represented the self-declared heirs-at-law, and Gregory Yale fought like a Titan for the lost cause. The following vigorous extract from his brief is here presented:

"'The great effort is now, and always has been since the accidental probate of this felonious paper, to take shelter behind a formal decree legalizing the felonious act. Will or no will when propounded for probate, it is claimed that it became an immaculate testament when solemnized by certain forms. Broderick may not have made a will, but Butler, with his co-conspirators, has secured the Probate Judge's name, if not D. C. Broderick's, to the paper, and no human power can detach it. This is the doctrine that this court is called upon to sanction. Years and generations hence, the term of 1862 is to be signalized—as the forgers and speculators would decree it—as an epoch in the legal history of this great State, when its highest tribunal pronounced in favor of an unmitigated fraud, only because an inferior tribunal had sanctioned it, and because the law afforded no escape

from its own machinations. Such reflections upon the law are unwarrantable, unworthy of any civilized code, and humiliating to listen to.'

"The Supreme Court refused to interfere with the probate of the will, on the ground that the decree of the Probate Court was final and conclusive, the statutory period of one year having elapsed since its probate, and not subject, except on an appeal to a higher court, to be questioned in any other court, *or be set aside or vacated by a court of equity on any ground* (20 Cal. 234).

"The estate was accordingly sold, and distributed in pursuance of the terms of the will."

The following instance shows a case in which a precedent overrides the Constitution of the United States, as given by Samuel Sinnett of Iowa:

"There is no place where reform is more loudly called for than in our courts of law. It is strange that in the latter part of the nineteenth century the demand for reform in our courts has not been treated with that respect to which such a subject is entitled. But, instead of keeping up with the spirit of the age, and repealing old obsolete laws and rulings in our courts, we are piling up a pyramid of absurd and complicated contradictory statutes, that are victimizing all those that seek justice in our courts. Fully four-fifths of the people are in favor of courts of arbitration (where no lawyers should be allowed to plead), where cases might be tried on their merits, and justice rendered without such fearful costs and the torture of prolonged delay, and the rude and often insulting of the cross-questioning of the counsel, who often treat witnesses

cal government, attended with imposing ceremonies and fixed forms, is preserved in its material characteristics and transmitted to us.

This system does not aim at justice, it only professes to administer law; and whatever might have been the intention of formulating justice in the terms of law, the distinction is now so great as not to be included in the same category. Precedents, arising from decisions, the conditions which gave rise to them having ceased long years ago, and in localities thousands of miles away, form the basis of judicial decisions to-day.

"The English Courts all decide according to precedent, or if no former decision can be found, then by analogy, to what has been decided in similar cases, or upon some general principle which has been recognized; and in cases entirely new, have sometimes sought aid from the Roman Law."—*American Cyclopedia, loc. cit.*

That is to say, when a case arises that comes under no previous decision, they *go back* to heathen institutions for light, ignoring the judgment of modern thinkers, and all the benefits of modern science and philosophy. Common sense and the promptings of natural justice are alike ignored, and we have a fossilized system as arbitrary and unyielding as the bed of Procrustes.

"The Courts of the United States have a general correspondence with the English judiciary system."—*Ibid.*

The modifications pertain to local jurisdiction, rather than changes in the essential character of the courts.

An attempt was made in France in 1790 to abrogate all power of deciding from analogy, or even a resort to general principles of jurisprudence; and all cases not provided for by express laws were to be referred to the National Assembly, for the purpose of having such law enacted as would be applicable to the particular case.

"This crude experiment," says the historian, "was so unsatisfactory, that in the *Code Napoleon* it was thought necessary, not only to restore to the courts the power of deciding upon general principles and analogy, but it was made penal to do otherwise."

"General principles and analogy!". Who understands general principles and analogy? Blackstone wrote four portly volumes to explain the *Common Law* that every one is supposed to understand. It requires years of study and discipline to be able to expound the law, and yet every one above an idiot or lunatic is responsible to it. The Emperor Nero is said to have displayed his tyranny by causing the laws to be placed beyond the people's knowledge, and then punishing them for disobeying them.

The people in this government are virtually

as if they were in the habit of perjury. Then our whole system is wrong. The idea of one man deciding a case where eleven are in favor of conviction might have done very well in the days of John, but is altogether out of place in the present age. Why not have a two-thirds majority render a verdict? The Grand Jury is a relic of a past age, which, like the Electoral College and the Senate, ought to be sent up to the garret with the rest of the lumber. But some will ask, "What would become of our lawyers?" They could not all be sent to Congress and the Legislature. Your system would simplify justice, and there would be little chance for prolonged litigation. Then were our laws honestly executed (bad as some of them are), there would not be such cause for complaint; but we find our courts have become mere skinning establishments, where the flaying is continued as long as there is hide enough left to pay for the operation. You can't give even a simple note off-hand any more without there is an iron-clad provision to pay a reasonable attorney's fee (generally from $50 to $100, when $5 would be ample pay for the service), and then costs are all secured by provisions of the note. But worst of all is the iron-clad mortgage, with its coupons, each and all claiming like fees and costs. I know of one firm that has loaned out five millions of *Scotch capital* on mortgages on farms (these money-lenders always prefer that class of property), the principal and interest-coupons all to be repaid in gold at a certain banking-house in New York. What a fat thing this will be for the lawyers that collect them! Now, this is always loaned on a valuation of one-third, so that there is a rich margin to fatten on. And yet those very farmers will vote for lawyers to represent them, ex-

pecting those men to make laws to protect the people from such a system of things. What fools the lawyers are to neglect their own interests! Now, the worst class of men to send to Congress and the Legislature to made laws are, without exception, lawyers, because they have no interest in common with their constituents, and will make the laws as mysterious and contradictory as possible.

"It is generally believed that judges are seated on the bench to administer justice agreeable to law and in harmony with the Constitution, as it is generally conceded that no statute can be of force when it conflicts with the Constitution. I will here relate a little of my own experience in that respect. We had one of those legalized robbery schemes enforced here, termed a five-per-cent tax, to aid in building a railroad. A number of the tax-payers refused to pay the tax, and sued out an injunction against the collector forbidding him selling our property. (Just imagine: selling our homes out to build a railroad to rob us!) Well, they sent for a certain judge from a neighboring county to come and try the injunction suit. In rendering his decision he made use of the following singular statement: "That there was little doubt but *the law was unconstitutional.*" Private property shall not be taken for public purposes without just compensation (U. S. Const.); but there was *a decision* by which he would have to be governed, and he dissolved the injunction and ordered our property to be sold. The judge that had so just a respect for the decision of a court and so little for the Constitution has since been advanced to the Supreme Bench, where his decisions will become law for future aspiring pettifoggers. I will here state another case to show how justice is carried on in our courts. A

certain young man committed forgery for some trifling amount. The penalty was only three months in the penitentiary. He wanted to plead guilty, but certain limbs of the law saw a good chance for a hand, and persuaded him to stand a trial. Well, he was indicted for the offense, and the State attorney drew up sixteen different charges or counts in the indictment, for which he charged sixteen different fees against the county; and as the prisoner had no money to hire counsel, the judge appointed one of the bar to defend him, for which he was entitled to $10 fee, but he brought in a bill of $160, being $10 for each count in the indictment. That man is one of the law-makers of Iowa, and the prosecuting attorney is before the people for election again, with a good prospect of success."

And thus innumerable cases have originated without the least merit, and carried through a long and costly litigation to a successful issue; and innumerable other cases founded on justice and with real merit have met with an opposite fate.

The only reason why such a monstrous system of oppression is suffered to exist, is that we reverence antiquity and venerate the institutions of the past, and bow to their authority by the sheer force of custom and education. As a means for the administration of justice, our judiciary system is a most signal failure; as a source of wealth to a class of professional vampires, it is a most signal success.

The moral influence of the courts of law and of the legal profession is corrupting and degrading. The courts are stern, dignified, and despotic, exacting the most servile obedience to their mandates, with severe and summary punishment for "contempt," as non-obedience to their dictates is termed; all of which is to enforce slavish obedience and protect the "majesty of the law"! As fitting instruments of these despotic institutions are the "legal profession," who infest every community, and live in wealth and luxury at the people's expense.

Misrepresentation, cunning, and artifice are their implements, and skill in the intricacies of a subtle craft their stock in trade. Falsehood supported by all the sanctity of an oath administered in the most solemn and imposing manner, and supported by all the craft that cunning can devise, is a frequent factor in the solution of their legal problems.

Clients, whose desire for victory is intensified by the zeal and assurances of their advocates and the sympathy they excite, imbibe the spirit of their champions, and cherish with peculiar satisfaction the exaggerations, misrepresentations, schemes of artifice, and often of falsehoods, employed by their attorneys, and these they carry to their homes and associates, where

they are commented on and admired, and thus the poison, originating in well-trained and skillful brains versed in all the arts of deception, is diffused throughout society; and as custom blunts by familiarity, so the finer sense of justice, which under proper circumstances would demand the right, is lost in the coarser sense of self-interest.

The influence of the legal profession in political affairs is well nigh omnipotent. As a rule, its members are the "politicians" and managers of all the schemes for corporate villiany, always pliant and purchasable. As practice in the courts is a species of warfare, and as all measures of deceiving the enemy and taking advantage of his weak points are justifiable in warlike tactics, so must the legal practitioner of necessity become familiar with and resort to these arts of war. However justifiable they may be on the battle-field, at the bar, and in conflict with moral forces, their effect is necessarily inimical to integrity and uprightness of character. The rule of exception applies here as elsewhere, and it is due to the profession to say that some legal minds have reflected great credit upon human nature.

The vocation necessitates craft, and the practice makes men crafty.

The following, from the pen of John Swinton, will be appreciated by every admirer of that able reformer:

"In the business of subverting the liberties of our beloved country, I do not dread the soldier with his rifle nor the conspirator with his mask, nor the fool, fanatic, or the demagogue, nor the king in his regalia, nor the cleric with his tongue, nor the editor with his quill, nor Satan with his horns, nor yet the millionaire with his millions, if they have but a fair field. The man to be dreaded in this republic is the shystering lawyer; legal machination is the thing of menace and danger. It is in this country especially that the people need to be on the alert against legal quibblers; here they swarm as they do nowhere else on the globe, not only in the courts, but in legislatures and their lobbies, and every place of power and greatness.

"How often, in searching amid the ruins of popular properties in other countries that once enjoyed them, do we come upon the tracks of the false lawyer! For what oppressor has he not found a legal subterfuge? For what deed of guilt has he not been ready to erect a legal bulwark? Do we not find him with a legal defense of every usurpation of every usurper; with a legal justification for any invasion of every birthright of man; with a legal quibble over every great popular franchise; with a legal glaze for every clear word of freedom; with legal pettifoggery against every establishment of right; with a legal weapon for nullifying every victory of progress; with a legal jimmy, as Major Haggerty lately said in the Assembly, to pry open every man's safe; with legal mechanism for tearing out every stone in the fabric of justice, and for rearing every pillar in the edifice of wrong?

"Not a guilty deed has ever been perpetrated by power; not a base treason has ever been hatched against the Commonwealth; not a device has ever been set for the subversion of any popular right—but the false lawyer has stood ready to uphold it with the armament of false legality. He battered the Twelve Tables of Rome, he made of no effect the Ten Commandments of Moses, he stifled the genius of Magna Charta, and he is now scuttling the Constitution of the United States."

The reform of this monstrous evil, so much needed and so essential to a true republic, is very simple and easy. The remedy may be expressed in three words—*Let it alone.*

In all civil cases, provisions are made by law to settle all controversies by arbitration. Let the people settle their own disputes in their own way, and give the lawyers an opportunity to earn an honest living. Some modifications may be needed so that all cases may be settled in this manner. In criminal cases, a similar method may be employed, so that courts may in time cease to exist.

In the disposition of property by inheritance, the vast amount of litigation and expense now incurred in the settlement of real estates of deceased persons could be avoided by conveying the title by deed of gift. Especially would this give almost infinite relief to wives of deceased persons whose estates must be probated at an enormous expense, annoyance, and delay.

It must be remembered that the power of the government is the will of the people, and that that will is sovereign; and further, that the people are interested in nothing but their advancement and welfare, and that reason and wisdom dictate the rule of justice.

All that is needed is that the people shall agree. It would be far better on the score of economy, as vastly more is expended in litigating claims than is claimed in litigation. This fact being realized, many persons refrain from the courts and suffer absolute losses in consequence. Then why should they be sustained?

This reform would be rendered easier by other reforms. Thus a volume of money sufficient to dispense with credits would take away an immense amount of legal practice; but as it is, the profession will favor a contracted currency which by compelling the extensive use of credits and legal instrumentalities for the collection of debts, lawyers find ample and profitable employment.

Withholding natural rights from women, by which a vast amount of business finds its way into the courts, is another source of patronage to the legal profession. So, really, the people support a burden of cost in the administration of law instead of justice, that supports and enriches

a vast army of lawyers, judges, and *attachés* to the courts that would support the expenditures of government—a system in which the most money wins and the defenseless are victimized.

The subject of litigation in the courts of justice (?) is fraught with such vast importance to the people that any means by which some method of litigation can be substituted demands the most earnest and careful attention of the people. The most determined efforts to supply its place with a simpler, safer, speedier, cheaper, and more effectual method of settling difficulties arising from injuries unjustly suffered is imperatively demanded. If the people have confidence in their friends and the community in which they live, if they are willing to appeal to those with whom they are acquainted for the rectitude of their purposes and their acts, they certainly have a tribunal for the adjustment of all controversies arising from disputed claims, and protection from injuries, actual or threatened; for these purposes we can easily devise and set in operation a plan for the adjustment of matters at variance with those with whom we deal, and protection from personal injury.

In matters of a civil nature, a system of adjudication can be easily established. Indeed, such a system already exists, and is enacted in

the code of our civil procedure. It is by arbitration. Let it be perfected, and let every well-disposed citizen resolve to resort to it. If this subject was discussed and made familiar to the public mind, and its advantages considered in all their bearings, there need be no difficulty in realizing the vast benefits it would confer upon the government and society.

In regard to criminal proceedings, no greater difficulty exists. Let an officer be elected in each local jurisdiction, whose duty will be to arrest and hold in custody an offender upon the complaint of a citizen, issued by the executive officer, with proper guards and restrictions. Then let the accused select an arbitrator, and the executive officer one; let these two agree upon a third; if they fail, let the accused select another and the officer the same, and so continue until an odd number is secured. We have here a court and jury in the same body of men, and far better qualified to administer justice than any legal court in existence, because the courts are bound by law and precedents, whereas this body of men are perfectly free to make their decision according to the promptings of natural justice and the merits of that particular case. Or the arbitrators might be drawn from a list of citizens—say one hundred.

The charge and defense can now be conducted in a quiet and speedy manner. Upon submitting the case, let a majority determine the verdict; let there be no appeal and no further proceedings in the matter, except, in case of conviction, the disposition of the criminal.

The great questions that have long been in dispute, and taxed the erudition of the greatest minds, involved considerations of *law* and not of *justice*, whose demands are simple and easily understood; while those of law are extremely complicated, abounding in subtleties and intricacies too deep for a single mind to grasp, as evidenced by the vast accumulation of decisions found in "Reports," and carefully preserved and consulted by the most eminent jurists. Thus litigation is tied up in the endless mazes of the law.

The substitution of a simple, easy, natural method would remove a vast burden in the shape of courts of law and their attendant officers and attorneys. It would save millions upon millions to the people which now go to support useless institutions and an army of non-producers who cause positive mischiefs far in excess of the negative injuries the people sustain in supporting them.

CHAPTER VIII.

STOCK OPERATIONS, "RINGS," AND "CORNERS."

"Foul Avarice! dread foe to human weal,
Inflicting sorrows that thou canst not heal;
Spirit of the gambler's dreadful fate,
That lures him on to hell's grim gate."

WITHIN the last twenty years, speculations in stocks, in "rings," and "corners" on the various productions of the country have grown into a serious evil.

We read of extensive operations in stocks and bonds, and suppose they are made in good faith. But such is not the case. Watering stock is a process not easily detected. The purpose is to obtain larger returns for money invested than could be openly charged. There is nothing gained in watering stock of a strictly private corporation, because no addition is made to its value; but public corporations, whose revenues are derived from public service, see the way to immense profits through fictitious additions to the amount of their capital stock. The people do not know what the charges should be, but are satisfied that net profits should equal current rates of interest. If one million invested is

watered to five millions, the investors will draw five interests on the amount put in. If the capital stock thus inflated can be made to pay interest, its value becomes solid. *It is worth in the market whatever sum it will pay dividends on.* The great fortunes which have been acquired within the last twenty years in the United States were largely through this process.

The people would not stand charges for service which would enable a corporation to declare a dividend of fifty per cent a year on their investment; but if that investment is multiplied by ten, thus reducing their rate to five per cent on ten times their capital, the matter seems to be easily arranged.

If a laborer should demand pay for nine dummies of like wages as his own, he would be severely and summarily dealt with; but untold millions can be drawn from poor laborers by scheming capitalists on the same principle, with nothing more than a feeble protest.

These sales are generally fictitious. As many causes can be brought to bear to produce fluctuations in the price of stocks, the *chances* of advance or decline are simply dealt in. Corporation rings congregate in money centers, and so manipulate as to reduce the price of stocks and bonds, purchase largely, and then manipulate so

as to advance the price, while the real value is not changed during the entire transaction.

Quotations are dictated in such a manner that those not in the secret have no means of knowing their actual value, and by false representation are induced to purchase at such figures as to sustain a loss in the transaction. Or an operator may make a venture and purchase with the hope of an advance, and watch his opportunity to sell.

The operation of speculating in stocks becomes intensely exciting, as all chance operations always do when indulged in. Thousands of dollars will sometimes change hands in a few hours, and sometimes millions are "made" in a very few days' operation. For instance:

"A agrees to purchase of B, four days after the date, $15,000 in stocks quoted at 93 cents, at 95 cents, being an advance of two per cent on the market price on the day of sale. The stock does not advance, and at the time for delivery A pays B the margin between the two cents on the dollar and the market price. No stock has passed between them. It was a fight between a 'bull' and a 'bear' for the margin.

"Nearly all of the financial operations of Wall Street brokers are of a like character. Some of them involve immense amounts. One man makes a fortune and another becomes bankrupt in a day. . . . . Men run about the streets, into the 'gold-room' and the 'clearing-house,' their faces flushed,

their whole person excited, their appearance 'distracted, hair disheveled,' their voices hoarse, all intent on making money, not in a legitimate way, but by the chance of a rise or fall in bonds and stocks."—*D. C. Cloud.*

"Corners" are made on pork or wheat, or some other staple, by purchasing all in the market, and then holding it for high prices. Advantage is taken of the supply in the market, or the chances of a deficiency of a supply, and often millions are realized in this way.

Combinations of capitalists go into the market, and so rule the price of commodities in which they deal as to leave no option with the producer, as he is not a party to the contract in the sale of his products; indeed, there is no sale; they are simply transferred into the hands of these greedy speculators, and there is no alternative left to the producer but putting the fruits of his year's toil into their hands and at their price, or leaving his produce on his farm to rot. They stand between him and the market, and shut him out from all its advantages. He has no voice in the disposal of his own products.

"Rings" in the channels of trade and business continue to get the lion's share of profit from the producers of wealth. The channels of business are so arranged that the products of the farmer pass through too many hands before getting into

those of the consumer. Each time they change hands a profit must be taken out of them; and so many profits are exacted that, while the producer receives barely enough to pay decent wages for his labor in producing them, his profits will scarcely support his family.

Thus, by the machinations of a few men, the great multitude are kept at hard work, with their noses to the grindstone, so to speak, to eke out a poor living for themselves, while they are supporting the few in luxury and general indulgences. Those who produce the means of life for the world should have, at least, a fair share in the world's good things. But things seem to be drifting from bad to worse. Produce exchanges have been organized for the purpose of increasing indefinitely the number of times of the sale of the farmers' crops, and thus to make the distance from the producer to the consumer greater, and at the same time to cut down the prices to the producer and put them up to the consumer. Will these two great classes continue to be hoodwinked in this way by the plans of the exchange?

An adequate and just system of the exchange of commodities is a great desideratum of our government. Production and consumption are the vital and ever-pressing necessities of life, and to effect that exchange so that nothing is gained or

lost by it, but the benefits of it secured, is a problem demanding immediate solution, because from unjust exchanges arise the evils here treated of, and others to be considered hereafter. This exchange requires skill and labor, and therefore costs something, and is worth something to the producer and consumer. *What it costs* and *what it is worth* constitute the very essence of this problem. What it cost for the exchange by the simplest and most direct method is justly added to the price for consumption.

In proof of the evils of this indirect and unjust exchange, the farmers point to the enormous fortunes accumulated by dealers in their produce in short periods of time; they point to their lavish expenditure of money in providing costly plans of business, in building magnificent residences, and maintaining costly modes of living and outfits for their families to appear in. They instance the fact that these merchants most always have long bank accounts, and can at any time when they find a farmer in a tight place furnish him with money at a high rate of interest, provided he is well secured.

They feel that the monopoly and combination are coming to the front and getting control of the channels of business and trade, till the small business men and farmers have become the

"hewers of wood and drawers of water" for those who have been so fortunate as to get inside the rings and business combinations.

Notwithstanding Grangers' Associations, Farmers' Alliances, Trades Unions, and other organizations with a view of checkmating the concentration of capital, and combinations for controlling the business and trade, these evils from which we suffer are still growing and becoming more aggressive.

Thus the producer and consumer alike suffer by "middle men" pushing the burden of cost upon them by increasing the number of exchanges, and cutting down prices to the producer and putting them up to the consumer.

The remedy for these evils is co-operation in all the industrial interests of the country. When avarice is dethroned and justice rules, then unity of interests will secure to all the means of life, and ample time and opportunity will be afforded for the culture and enjoyment of the higher and nobler elements of our being. In the mean time, and as a step to this higher condition, let the farmers and all others who produce wealth employ agents to whom they will consign their produce and purchase the necessary goods for their consumption. Let, for instance, thirty or forty persons agree to pay into a common fund

say $10,000, each putting in according to his means. Let them meet and elect three of their number to act as directors, who shall do the business for the whole. Let these directors enter into bonds, as public officers are required to do, for the faithful discharge of their duties. Let the consignee and agent at the place of market receive a certain commission for selling and buying, and keep a set of books as a check to those kept by the directors. Let a suitable storehouse be provided in a central location for the reception and distribution of the goods. Let each contributor make a memorandum of what he will need for the year (or for any other length of time), and the approximate cost of the same, for which he is entitled to draw from the common storehouse to the amount of his contribution. Let a distributor or clerk who has no interest in the matter be employed at a salary to deliver to the contributors to the extent of their credit, who will also keep a set of books.

When the goods are stored, let the price be marked, including in it the first cost, commission, transportation, cost of storage, distribution, and compensation of directors as previously agreed upon.

Or let an association of traders and manufacturers furnish the goods and receive the produce,

and thus save the agency of "middle men." Something like this established among the industrial classes will save to them the profits that now go to enrich a class of non-producers.

Where a remedy exists, let it be applied. But the grand remedy lies in the regulation and protection of natural rights. The free exercise of these will secure to all the greatest good, measured only by the capacity of the people.

In connection with this subject, it would be proper to notice the monopoly of the press. This is the worst of all monopolies, not only because it prevents the publication of journals on small capital, but because intelligence is monopolized.

The power of the press is everywhere acknowledged. If devoted to the interests and welfare of the whole, its power for good is immeasurable; and no less the evil if given to the service of corporate power and associated capital in the hands of the few. In this, as well as in other cases, large capital can only compete with large capital; but in this, the increase of capital offers peculiar facilities. The supply of published matter is increased without a corresponding outlay of expenditure. Thus the second thousand copies of a paper is attended with only the additional cost of paper, press-work, and the distribution. In case of fifty thousand copies, dividing the whole cost

by that number, the cost of one thousand would be much less proportionally than could be afforded for a single thousand copies. So the monopoly is made much easier than that of other enterprises.

In addition to this, the press caters to selfish interests, and is effectually controlled in the interests of the oligarchy, to monopolize the intelligence of the country and shape it so as to control public sentiment. We offer the following, copied from an Eastern paper, which will explain itself:

"The real truth concerning the capitalistic press of America was utte ed by a prominent New York journalist at a press dinner a short time since. The reunion on that occasion was of men who write and do the real work on the papers—the drudges. When the hackneyed and ridiculous toast, 'The Independent Press,' was proposed, the journalist referred to, being called on to respond, said he did not wish to do so, but the company insisted upon it with loud acclamations. He finally arose and said: 'There is no such a thing in America as an independent press, unless it is out in country towns. You are all *slaves*. You know it, and I know it. There is not one of you who *dares* to express an honest opinion. If you expressed it, you would know beforehand that it would never appear in print. I am paid $150 for keeping honest opinions out of the paper I am connected with. Others of you are paid similar salaries for doing similar things. If I should allow honest opinions

to be printed in one issue of my paper, I would be like Othello before twenty-four hours: my occupation would be gone.

"'The man who would be so foolish as to write honest opinions would be out on the street hunting for another job. The business of a New York journalist is to distort the truth, to lie outright, to pervert, to vilify, to fawn at the feet of Mammon, and to sell his country and his race for his daily bread, or for what is about the same—his salary. You know this, and I know it; and what foolery to be toasting an "Independent Press"! We are the tools and vassals of rich men behind the scenes. We are jumping-jacks. They pull the string and we dance. Our time, our talents, our lives, our possibilities, are all the property of other men. We are intellectual *prostitutes*.'

"The bloom of sorrowful conviction fell upon the company, and the over-truthful journalist took his seat in profound silence."

The control of telegraphic communications in connection with the press places journalism beyond the control of the people. In this way public sentiment is swayed in spite of all efforts to prevent it.

Smaller enterprises are shut out because they cannot afford to publish at the rates of large establishments. Thus the press, a power of incalculable influence, aided by the telegraph, is made the instrument of tyranny and oppression.

What is the remedy for this great monopoly? Patronize publications that enlighten the people

and advocate their interests, that fearlessly discuss all questions connected with human welfare. Let the subscription lists of such papers be increased to tens and hundreds of thousands. Then they could be furnished much cheaper and become more efficient. Do the people consider that by supporting the subsidized press they furnish the weapons by which they are robbed, and bare their necks for the master's collar? Is it possible that they cannot see this?

The people's will, intelligence, and energy must combat the corporations' capital; and thus by united effort the monopoly of the press will be destroyed.

CHAPTER IX.

NATURAL RIGHTS CONSIDERED.

"If I'm designed yon lordling's slave—
By Nature's law designed—
Why was an independent wish
E'er planted in my mind?
If not, why am I subject to
His cruelty and scorn?
Or, why has man the will and power
To make his fellow mourn?"

NATURAL rights being founded on the necessities and requirements of life, and the sole and legitimate objects of popular government being their regulation and protection, it is proposed here to consider them in their relation to such government.

The right of personal liberty has been so thoroughly discussed and appreciated that little requires to be said in regard to it. The love of liberty is so intense that its protection is one of the first provisions of civilized life. The machinations of ambitious men have secured schemes for the accomplishment of their purposes in absorbing the fruits of labor, and the personal liberty of the wealth-producer is more favorable for that. Moreover, the interests of

such men would rather suffer than otherwise by the abridgment of personal liberty. More profit can be realized by the labor of those whose *means of life are controlled* than those in whom the employer has the right of property.

The wealth produced by labor is the object sought, and the poverty of the wealth-producer is the condition that best serves their purposes. Therefore it is in the right to the means of life we find the subject under consideration.

1. Right of Land Tenure.

It is from the soil that all physical sustenance is derived; and as we are constantly consuming, we must as constantly replenish. Every breath we exhale, every muscle we move, every thought we think, is at the expense of consumed value, and requires as constant a supply. Land is the all-sufficient source from which these supplies are derived; therefore the occupancy and use of the soil becomes a necessity in the production for consumption.

The value of land, then, consists in its power to supply the demand for the consumption of values. As all have a claim to these values, based on the necessities of life, it follows that the right to produce them, either directly from the land, or indirectly by enhancing the value of

its raw productions by manufacture, is equal to such claim. In general terms:

The right to live carries with it the right to the means of life; the means of life are derived from the land; therefore the right to the land, to those who desire to occupy and use it, is equal to the right to live.

The regulation and protection of this right is one of the essential and most important functions of government, and indispensable to the freedom and equality of the people.

The land of a country belongs to the people of that country, and it is the duty of the government to secure to all its citizens its fullest possible benefits. Land monopoly is robbery; though under the forms and sanctions of law, and ratified by the decisions of courts, and established by custom grown gray with age, still it is robbery. All the edicts of autocrats, the bulls of popes, the power of legislatures, and the authority of courts cannot make a wrong right nor a right wrong; and although untold millions have been impoverished and enslaved by land monopoly, it is no less bitter on that account. This evil grows as population increases, and it must inevitably result in oppression and despotism, landlordism and serfdom. As population increases, the value of the land increases just in proportion as the increase

of demand gives increased value to supplies. Both the cultivated and wild lands of this country are rapidly going into the hands of monopolists, who are thus laying the foundation for absolute despotism.

The family is the foundation of society, the fountain of virtue, and the basis of government; and the character of that society and government will depend very largely upon the permanence and ownership of the homes of the people. If owned by the occupants, every inducement to improve and beautify it is given; if rented, neglect of both is the rule. The former conduces to sobriety, industry, and social improvement; the latter to recklessness and disorder. These conditions materially affect the character of the government. The rental generally takes from the tenant all his net profits, which has the effect to discourage and impoverish—conditions incompatible with good government. The rents so demanded go to enrich idleness, build up class distinctions, and by destroying equality make republican government impossible.

Therefore, a radical change in the system of land tenures is an imperative and absolute necessity. Those who live on the land must own it, and those who own it must cultivate it. There is no more justice or propriety in withholding

land from others for use, or demanding pay for the use of it, than there is for withholding sunlight or air; the only difference being that the one can be appropriated and the others cannot. It is given for the support of all, and not for speculation or the upbuilding of power.

Our fathers sought to avoid the evils of land monopoly by proscribing primogeniture and entails; but corporations have accumuluted its millions where primogeniture has preserved its thousands.

B. S. Heath, of Chicago, has given a clear and forcible exposition of this subject. He says:

"Our fathers recognized this law (primogeniture), and supposed they had guarded against its abuse and violation by providing equal distribation of estates among the heirs of deceased persons.

"No accumulation of wealth, however large, long survives its owner, if left free from legal restraints. It was the boast of our people that all were equal before the law, and that the prize of wealth was the reward of the most industrious and enterprising. As a rule, the heirs of wealth soon squander their patrimony. They were the autumn frosts which caused the leaves of the summer's growth to fall back to enrich the labor soil, to be again gathered up by the resolute and ambitious sons of poverty. As a rule, the rich men were the 'self-made men.'

"In this way the wealth accumulations of each generation fall like the dews of heaven upon the toilers of the next; and thus social conditions were equalized. Consequently there were few paupers

and fewer millionaires. Comparative equality of social conditions formed a deep and permanent foundation for a just and permanent government, equable laws, and purity of administration. . . . . The productive forces of society consisted of muscle and brain.

"Since that time great changes have taken place. Occult forces, never dreamed of, have supplanted skill and muscle. A ton of coal and a hogshead of water will do the work of a hundred men. The steam-horse and his train of a hundred tons fly like meteors from town to town and from ocean to ocean. The lightnings have been harnessed to the car of thought, and messages are flashed over the continent and across the ocean sooner than the post-boy of a century ago could saddle his horse. Our houses are warmed and lighted and the motive power of the nation's manufactures and commerce are supplied from the storehouses of nature, which were locked against the generation of fifty years ago. These have been developed outside the Constitution. To handle and control them a new class of persons, unknown to the framers of our government, have been created. *Corporations instead of men have come to the front.* Upon these new elements and forces incorporated greed and avarice have seized, as the Norman conqueror seized upon the wealth resources of Britain, and upon these a new empire has been established in the land of the free outside of the Constitution and the people.

"Upon them a new feudal system has been inaugurated and a new law of primogeniture established. Corporations are substitutes for dukedoms, baronies, and lordships, and the estates of this new feudalism are as effectually immortalized by government charters as were their prototypes by the Magna Charta. And the perpetuation of these estates,

with their increasing annual accumulations from the labor soil, will as surely impoverish, degrade, and enslave American society as the same causes have exhausted the manhood of England, as their possessions and capacity for absorption are greater.

"Our Constitution must be enlarged so as to embrace these monopolies and bring them into subjection to the people's interests, or they will root out the Constitution and establish an aristocracy upon the ruins of liberty and constitutional government."

It is affirmed, and will be clearly shown in these pages, that the condition so forcibly described above already exists. It is only the comparative sparseness of population that prevents the development of a system even worse than that of Irish landlordism; for had the territorial limits not been enlarged, a condition worse than European peasantry would have overtaken us long ago. These limits are reached, or nearly so; and as the land is rapidly going into a few hands, the power that monopoly gives will crush out the liberties of the people; for he who owns the land by the authority of our land laws owns and controls those who live upon it, provided they cannot get off, and the press of population will soon prevent them.

The value of land consists in its power to supply the demands of consumption, and a population to create such demand. Without population, land of the greatest fertility and with all the appurtenances of natural resources would be

totally valueless, and justice demands that they who create it should have and enjoy it; but under our laws of land tenure, that value goes to the monopolizers of the land without their adding anything to its value. If all who desire to occupy and use the land could do so, that value would go to them. Thus equality of conditions growing out of equality of rights would secure freedom and prosperity to the people.

The right to hold the land and secure a permanent title to it should be most carefully guarded, and should descend by equal inheritance by legal provisions. The law of primogeniture and entail are virtually in force, since the owner of land can devise, by gift or otherwise, his entire possessions to one person and secure perpetuity by corporate charter. The rights of future generations should be protected as well as the living.

Monopoly of land gives to the holders of it the power to levy contributions upon the cultivators of it; which power is granted by usurped rights in direct violation of the law of justice. It is equally as unjust to demand tribute for the use of land as to lay a tribute on the personal service of another for private gain. Land is given for the use of all: it is the product of none; and as all need its products, all are equally entitled to the right to produce them.

CHAPTER X.

NATURAL RIGHTS CONSIDERED (CONTINUED).—FINANCE.

"The simplest and most perfect form of currency is that which represents nothing but transferable debt, and of which the material is of no intrinsic value, such as paper. It is only when states have reached a high degree of civilization that they adopt this perfect form; before they attain that, the material of it entirely consists of something which has an intrinsic value, such as gold or silver."—*Macleod.*

THE exchange of values is a necessity of civilized nations, and requires a medium of currency to effect such exchange. This medium is money. It is a token or representative of value based upon the wealth of the nation, and by the authority of the government declared a legal tender for all debts, public and private. The issue of such money and the control of its volume in circulation are natural rights, the free use and exercise of which are the indispensable requisites of republican government.

The question of finance is one of pressing and vital importance to the people of a free government. The principles involved in it and their application to the best uses of life must be clearly understood.

Finance is one of the chief factors in political economy, and largely governs the distribution of wealth equally, and thus serves its true purpose, or unequally, and thus overthrows republican government, as the people are wise or unwise. Equal distribution depends on equal exchange, which is the sole function of money. By it wealth is secured to the producers of it for their enjoyment and benefit, resulting in peace, plenty, and happiness. By unequal distribution, millionaires and paupers are made, monopolies built up to rob and oppress, thereby creating political inequalities, the legitimate outcome of which is the relation of rulers and ruled, master and slave.

Because of its vast importance, it has been controlled in the interest of the few who have managed to secure its power to themselves. They have clothed it in mystery and woven around it such an intricate network of theories and speculations that the people despair of comprehending its nature and functions, thus securing to those few its control for their own benefit. Through the monstrous robbery of banking systems, millions upon millions have been drawn from industry to enrich idleness; and the people tolerate this because they do not understand the means by which it is done.

Had the people fully understood this important subject, they would never have been cursed with a bonded debt; with banking corporations established for no other purpose than individual aggrandizement; with a restricted basis for money, enabling greedy and unscrupulous speculators to control its volume, and thus take advantage of the necessities of industry, to levy contributions upon it under the name of interest for the privilege of using it; with the stagnation of business and the ruin of many industrial enterprises; and many other evils consequent upon a false and defective monetary system, as the inevitable and calamitous results to the people.

As an instrument of exchange, it has no intrinsic value. It being only a legal power, there was no necessity of creating a debt, for money is simply a legal device for exchanging one commodity for another, or a service for a commodity, by which the holder of it can at any time or place within the jurisdiction of the government demand any commodity within the circle of exchange, or service seeking compensation.

Since money has for its sole and legitimate object and function the equal exchange of values, whereby equal distribution is effected, every wealth-producer could by such exchange retain and enjoy the full value of the wealth he pro-

duced in any and every commodity he needs or desires. No one could become excessively rich, for he could not accumulate by exchanges—for they would be equal; and none need be poor or dependent, for, based upon the equality of exchange, the race for wealth would be free and open for all.

To show the benefits of a true monetary system and the evils of a false one, and the power of money corporations to rob and enslave the people, the following definitions and illustrations will suffice:

Market value is based on intrinsic or real value, and is determined by the law of supply and demand, and is simply the money expression [price] of such value. The variations of supply, the demand remaining fixed, or the variations of demand, the supply remaining fixed—such variations determining the price—are expressed in money; and as money represents value, as long as the volume of money remains fixed aggregate values remain unchanged. If supply increases, prices go down just to that point that any given quantity will amount to the same money value. Thus, if the money volume be one million dollars, and all commodity values one million bushels of wheat, the price will be one dollar a bushel; if the supply of the commodity

is doubled, the value it represents (one million dollars) remaining fixed, the price is reduced to that point that the given quantity will amount to the same money value—that is, two million of bushels at half a dollar a bushel just equals one million at one dollar a bushel. The converse is equally true: the supply reduced one half, the price will be two dollars a bushel. In a season favorable for production, the increased supply will bring only the same money value; the low price is supplemented by increase of commodities. In a season unfavorable, the diminished supply will bring the same money value; because it will be supplemented by high prices.

Free from all modifying conditions, this is the law of market values. Fluctuations of supply and demand are in a great measure beyond human control; but by the increase in the power of production, as science and the arts advance, and facilities for transportation increase, these fluctuations can be materially controlled.

On the other hand, the variations in the volume of money affects prices as effectually; and this volume is wholly under human control; for so long as it is uniform, its representative value remains fixed, but any change in volume carries with it a corresponding change in value. Thus, in the illustration above given, doubling the vol-

ume of money would reduce its value, as expressed in units, to one half, and the money expression in wheat would be two dollars a bushel; reducing the volume to one half would double its unit value, and wheat would be half a dollar a bushel. By changing its volume we change its unit value; and since prices are expressed in units of value, market price is changed to correspond with changed value of the unit, and though aggregate values are not affected, prices are, which enable those who control the money volume to take advantage of the fluctuations they create.

The evils arise from the unsteady and fluctuating volume of money, whereby prices, which are money expressions of value, change without change of supply of commodities. Prices are thus controlled by those who control the volume of money, thus leaving the wealth-producer at the mercy of the money-changer.

Since the unit value of money increases as the volume diminishes, and debts are estimated in units of value, their value increases in proportion as the volume is reduced. If A contracts a debt when the volume of money is $50 per capita, and the volume is reduced to $25 per capita, the value of his debt is doubled; if it would require a thousand bushels of wheat to

pay it at the time he contracted it, upon a change of volume, as above noticed, it would require two thousand bushels, the supply of commodities remaining the same.

The total amount of debts in the United States — public and private — is over twenty billions, most of which was contracted when the volume of money was double its present volume. Besides interest, it will cost the debtors nearly double that amount to pay their debts.

With an adequate volume of money, prices are firm and steady (for demand is very nearly uniform from year to year), and industry is stimulated and encouraged, and wealth increases. Diminish the volume, credit for a time takes the place of money, and business goes on for a while; but obligations must be met, money increases in value as it diminishes in volume, and debts increase in the same proportion. Prices go down, the demand for labor diminishes, industry languishes, and thus what the wealth-producers lose the money-changers gain.

After debts have been paid and balances adjusted on the basis of increased money value, the volume is increased; prices go up, business is revived, enterprises are extended, and everything begins to prosper, and will continue so long as the volume of money keeps up. Another con-

traction, and the same evil results to the people follow. The control of supplies — that is, power of production — is in a great measure dependent on the facilities afforded by an adequate volume of money; but as a rule, price is controlled by the volume of money and determines the amount of values that go to the money-changers, or that which remains in the hands of those who produce it.

If the law declares that money shall be stamped on only one material, and that material limited in quantity, it can be controlled by individuals and corporations, and thus labor and all its products will be controlled and its net profits go to them; but if the material upon which it is stamped be abundant and merely nominal in value, the volume of money can at all times be adjusted to the requirements of the industrial interests of the nation, and controlled by the people for *their* use and benefit.

The first theory of creating money (that of intrinsic value) is open to several serious and one fatal objection. Among the serious ones are the limited supply of the material, the cost of its production, and the destruction of its commodity value when coined into money. Its fatal objection consists in the power it has to measure all values — by representing them — thus giving

its holders the command of all values, and controlling the most important function of government.

"It may be truly and incontrovertibly said that the power of money over the affairs of enterprise and labor is omnipotent; and that they who control the money of a people, control their destinies as surely and irresistibly as the sun controls the movements of the planets of the solar system. For those who control the *character* of people's money thereby have it in their power to fix the price of all kinds of property and labor at any conceivable rate, and to change the rates or prices from time to time, as their private interests dictate."—*Bryant on Money.*

This power of law vested in corporations is despotism. Such is the law—a monetary system based on the "precious metals," that enable a few to control the many and hold the entire productive interests of the people in their hands. And the people profess to be free, pretend they have a government founded on their natural rights, and that they are in the full and free enjoyment of them!

"It is such considerations as these," says the same writer, "coupled with the knowledge history gives us of 'man's inhumanity to man,' that forces us to acknowledge that it is unstatesmanlike, unjust, and even inhuman to have so despotic a power as that which resides in and

flows from the quantity of the people's money, to any principle based on mere chance like the discovery or exhaustion of gold and silver mines, or to the justice of any body of men, no matter what their pretensions may be to intelligence, respectability, or honor. It is a question of *government*, not a whit less fundamental and important than that of the liberties of the people."

The true method for the exchange of values is by a legal instrument, the creature of law, based upon the wealth and credit of the nation and the authority of the government. It expresses three powers, and *only* three: first, it must represent the value of all exchangeable commodities: this is its power to exchange values; second, it must bear upon its face the unit of value: this is its power to estimate and compute values; third, to provide for time-transactions, it must be receivable for all debts and dues, public and private. By this legal-tender power, it protects the debtor from the avarice and tyranny of the creditor. It represents value, therefore it should be wherever value is, either in labor or its products. It is a universal acknowledgment of value given, and a universal willingness to accept it for any purchasable thing or the cancellation of any pecuniary obligation. So those who desire it can readily exchange any exchange-

able value they desire for it; those who hold it can command any service or commodity in the market, transfer or convert values into other values, and protect themselves from all obligations to their financial creditors.

Value belongs to those who produce it with their own means. All expend values in consumption, whether they earn them or not; consequently, those who do not produce must subsist on those who do; for since justice requires *equality of exchange*, there can be no *accumulation* by the instrument of exchange; therefore, he who consumes without in some way producing value is an object of charity, a beggar, a thief, or a robber. To effect the fair and equal exchange of values is the sole purpose and legitimate function of money. It possesses no intrinsic value; therefore, to receive pay for its use would be like receiving pay for the use of any other legal power that does not possess intrinsic value.

Without going into details to show that our exchanges through the agency of money are unfair, it is only necessary to point to the fact that producers, as a class, are poor, and those who produce nothing, but control the medium of exchange (money), are as a class wealthy. All the money employed in the industrial pursuits of the country is borrowed at a rate of interest

far above the power to increase net wealth by productive labor. This condition of things must in the end impoverish the wealth-producers.

We cannot maintain free government with our present financial system, for such government is founded on political equality, and this cannot exist where wealth is accumulated in the hands of the few. Where there is great wealth there must be great poverty.

Palaces and hovels, millionaires and paupers, masters and slaves, are the inevitable condition of the exercise of vested powers granted to corporations by which the volume of money is controlled. Such wealth builds up and fosters aristocracy; creates lords and serfs, proud and haughty rulers, and meek and submissive slaves.

"Money," says Professor Bonamy Price, an acknowledged authority in political economy, "is the tool of exchange, the instrument of obtaining for its present possessor some commodity or service which is desired. It derives its power from the law, and is not dependent on any kind of material."

The following illustration will show the power of law to make money:

"Law can make that money which costs little to produce it immensely more valuable than that which was produced at a great outlay of labor. Law can

give a paper dollar a hundred or a thousand times greater value or purchasing power than a gold or other kind of dollar, in despite of the fact that the gold dollar cost perhaps a hundred times as much as the paper dollar. One might term this the miracle of law, since the same is not true of anything else produced by man. This truth arises entirely from the fact practically to regulate the quantity of money issued or permitted to circulate; and from the further fact, the quality of any one or several kinds of money is utterly the creature of law—the law makes it a full or restricted legal tender, or *not* a legal tender at all. We can illustrate this fact regarding the principles of money by supposing the United States were to issue say fifty millions of paper dollars, and make them the only legal tender to pay any tax or debt due the government, and say five hundred millions of silver dollars, and make them the only legal money to pay private debts due from one person to another, and say one hundred millions of gold dollars which are *not* a legal tender for any purpose whatever, leaving the people free to accept or reject them just as they pleased. What would be the result of this action of our government? Simply this: the law of supply and demand would at once assert itself, and work in combination with what the law had decreed regarding the money whereby there had been created three kinds and three qualities of money. Whereas, if the law regarding *each* had been the same, there would have been but *one* kind and *one* quality, even if it were made of a hundred different materials. As every tax or debt due to the government would have to be paid in paper dollars, thereby creating an enormous demand, which could only be met by the small supply of fifty millions of

paper dollars, they would have a very high premium over the gold or silver dollars. But one thing is obvious and certain: those who could get control of the paper dollars would exact any price they pleased for them. The supply of silver dollars, being adequate for the demand for them in conducting the exchanges of the country, we may suppose no premium could be exacted for them. But the gold dollars, not being money at all—for nothing is money save that which is made a legal tender in payment of debts—would certainly fall to a discount, the amount of which would be fixed by the loss and expense necessary in case of exporting them for recoinage into other money of any nation using gold for money.

"I challenge any two political economists of world-wide reputation to publicly deny over their own names but what such would be the result *necessarily* flowing upon such action on the part of the government of the United States or any other nation. None will dare to do it, since such an act would brand them among all scientists as infamous scoundrels who have accepted a bribe and degraded themselves to the level of newspaper editors and other hirelings who champion lies of that character against the *truth* and against the interests of mankind."—*H. H. Bryant.*

The above illustration shows how, during the Civil War, gold went up so high—at one time to 285. It was made by law the only money, with the exception presently to be noted, that was a full legal tender for all government debts and dues; and by its scarcity it was hoarded by bankers, brokers, and speculators, who caused the

currency of the country to be shorn of its power to pay government dues.

Bonds were issued in large quantities and purposely depreciated and made purchasable dollar for dollar in this inferior kind of money. The law also made this paper currency, which was inferior to gold, convertible into bonds when they were cheap, and the debts due to the government payable only in gold when gold was dear, so as to enable the government to pay the interest on the bonds in gold, and thus it was gathered back into the hands of the money lords. After the bonds had advanced in value and had been bought up with the paper currency purposely made an inferior money, they were then destroyed, *thus converting the people's money into an interest-bearing debt to the amount of twelve hundred millions of dollars.*

But the first issue of the paper currency to the amount of sixty millions was a full legal tender, and performed all the functions of gold and kept at par with it during all its fluctuations. So we see that money is solely a creature of the law, and its purchasing power, its ability to exchange values, depends on the quality and quantity in circulation. Its quality is its legal power, and its quantity in circulation determines its value.

Since a change of volume does not affect the

aggregate of values, but the value of the money, it is easy to make it dear and prices cheap by simply changing the *relation of quantities*. This power to regulate prices and keep them uniform determines the production and distribution of wealth, and consequently the freedom, prosperity, and happiness of the people; or if controlled by corporate power vested by law, then popular government is at an end.

Webster said, at the foot of Bunker Hill, "The freest government cannot long endure where the tendency of the law is to create a rapid accumulation of property in the hands of the few and to render the masses poor and dependent." The result of all this is thus summed up in the language of C. W. Stanton:

"Let us look back a few years. In 1862, the two exceptions in the Legal-Tender Act caused the greenbacks to depreciate to forty cents on the dollar, and this act enabled the Shylocks to reap a harvest of $700,500,000 at the expense of the farmers and industries of the country. Again, in 1863, the National Banking Act was passed, creating the most colossal money oligarchy and monopoly that ever damned a nation since the foundation of the world. In 1866 we find the Contraction Act, which reduced our currency from $1,800,000,000 to $700,000,000. This act prostrated every industry, paralyzed every enterprise, and bankrupted over a hundred thousand business men and firms, throwing labor out of employment, filling the country with tramps and crim-

inals, and destroying over half the value of the national wealth. Let us turn over a leaf to 1869. We find the Credit-Strengthening Act, changing the 5.20 bonds from currency (lawful money) to coin, giving hundreds of millions of dollars to the bondholders and taking it from the farmers and laborers of the nation, and saddling on us an immortalized burden of debt and interest. Another leaf and we find the R funding Act of 1870, perpetuating the public debt, instead of paying it by refunding the 5.20's into coin bonds payable at the option of the United States. Then comes the Demonetization Act of 1873, depriving us of the use of silver to pay the coin obligations they have saddled upon us, establishing the single gold basis, and adding 40 per cent to the value of all money obligations, and 40 per cent to the debt burdens of the people.

"One leaf more. Look at the work of 1875, and we will have all we can digest at one time. What do we find? The Redemption Act, authorizing the redemption, retirement, and actual loss to the producers of wealth of over $418,000,000 of legal tender and fractional currency, for no other purpose than to make room for the national bank currency, thus giving the bondholders control of our circulating medium, with power to inflate or contract it at pleasure, to fix values on our produce and our homes — in short, to hold the destinies of this country in their iron grasp. We have already paid the national banking corporations $1,800,000,000 for the special privilege of furnishing the currency for us, and yet no one will claim that it serves the purpose of money better than the legal-tender greenbacks that cost the people nothing; yet the greenbacks were withdrawn and interest-bearing bonds substituted — for what? — to create

and sustain a perpetual basis for national banks and rob the people of thousands of dollars annually. Farmers and laborers, will you longer bow down and worship this Juggernaut, or voluntarily throw yourselves under its ponderous wheels, or stand idly by while it grinds out the last drop of blood, the life of the nation? Every thinking farmer and laborer feels that there is something wrong, and unless we right these wrongs our national liberty will be lost, and we go down into history, like Greece and Rome, our column broken."

CHAPTER XI.

NATURAL RIGHTS CONSIDERED (CONTINUED) FINANCE.—BANKING SYSTEM.

"O power of Greed clothed in Deception's garb!
To drain the wealth that labor gives,
Assumes the Law's majestic form,
And on the toils of others lives."

THE limited supply of gold and silver requires the currency to be supplemented by credit. To secure the benefits of credit to the money-dealers, banks of issue are instituted.

Banks are chartered in order to furnish the people with a public representative of value. If this were their real purpose, such representative of value should be issued and controlled by the General Government, and in such volume as to dispense with the necessity of credit. But credit is a source of wealth to the money-dealers, and banks are the machinery by which that credit is utilized. Money is said to bear such and such a rate of interest; it is the obligation given for the use of money that bears the interest; the debtor pays interest on his debt, that is, he is compelled to pay a penalty for being a debtor, which goes to the creditor, who receives a premium for the priv-

ilege of taking from the debtor that which does not belong to him. The secret of success of banking consists in the debtor *receiving interest on his debts.* The following, from the "American Sentry," presents the matter clearly, thus:

"The 'Sentry' briefly states the facts hereinafter mentioned, in order to bring them pointedly before the minds of its readers, and earnestly asks that each will carefully weigh their import in their bearing upon the cause of equal justice to all, the welfare of our people, and the perpetuity of our republic.

"Bank notes when issued simply prove that the corporation issuing them owes the holder thereof, and is indebted to the amount represented by such notes

"When a bank loans its notes and collects interest therefor, it charges and receives interest on what it owes.

"Laws that either directly or indirectly compel the people to receive and use as money the evidences of corporate indebtedness, for the benefit of corporations, as in the case of national-bank-note issues, are grossly despotic, oppressive, and wicked, and are of necessity the deadly foes of the people's rights.

"By authorizing banks to issue their notes for use as money, and destroying the people's money—greenbacks and other Treasury notes—to such an extent that there was not enough of them left to carry forward the business of the country, Congress compels the people to have recourse to and use bank notes as money, and by that circumlocution to pay interest to banks on what banks owe.

"In order to more effectually force the masses to take and use as money the bits of paper that simply represent the debts of bank corporations, and thus become the slaves of and pay tribute to them, Congress, by a law printed upon the back of all national bank notes, compels their acceptance 'for all salaries and other debts and demands owing by the United States to individuals, corporations, and associations within the United States, except interest on public debt.' So, when government pays interest to banks on the bonds they own, it cannot compel them to receive their own notes in payment of such interest, although the banks' notes are good enough money for the payments by government of all but the bondholders' claims.

"Monstrous and degrading as the fact is, the American people are tamely submitting to the compulsory use by them as money of bits of paper that are nothing but proofs of corporations' debts, and for that privilege, if it can be called such, are cheerfully paying to national banks interest on what the banks owe, as well as on the bonds they own. Do the people realize that to enable corporations to filch from them interest on their own debts, Congress has prostituted its trust, and by law has made corporations' notes a legal tender for the payment of debts and dues by the government, in order to force the use of such notes as money?

"No wonder that these despotic corporations regard a system that enables them to extort interest on their debts from the people as 'the best banking system the world ever saw.' What despot could ask for more or desire more willing, abject slaves than the American people are to national banks?"

But this is not all. "Causes," says Kellogg, "are felt to be in operation which the people cannot comprehend—the changes in market value of property and in the prices of labor are accounted for by the abundance or scarcity of money; but why money is scarce at one time and abundant at another is to the great body of the people utterly unknown."

The business of the country is chiefly dependent on comparatively a few individuals, vested with power to issue bank notes. It is supposed that banks are instituted for public use, and that a large capital is required to operate them; but in the case of national banks, the capital invested is capital already invested whose stocks are at a high premium in the market; so these bankers receive profits on their credits as well as on their debts.

But they are allowed to issue more than their capital invested. A privilege is granted by the government to a corporation to issue bank notes bearing no interest, and exchange them for indorsed notes of the people bearing interest; and in this way operate largely on a fictitious capital. A bank with a capital of $50,000 issues $150,000 in bank notes, for which interest is charged. *At 7 per cent, an annual income of* 7,000 *would be realized upon a purely fictitious capital.*

This method of supplying the people with money is claimed to be both just and safe! It is not necessary to discuss the justice of such a method. A currency that the government is in duty bound to supply to the full requirements of business and trade is scantily supplied by the banks, which by the necessity of a medium of exchange is made to take the place of money, and a rate of interest charged above the net profits of labor. It is not necessary to show by this operation who are enriched and who are impoverished.

Before the national banking system was established, banks were established by the authority of State charters throughout all the States, in some of which the wildest speculations were carried on. In 1849 the Legislature of Connecticut created a commission to report upon the banks of that State. An extract of that report is here presented.

"By the foregoing table it will be seen that the average amount of specie held by the banks in the State of Connecticut for twelve years was $478,719, while the average amount of their loans to the public during the same period was $11,669 457, more than twenty-four and one-third times as much money as the banks had specie. The annual interest on $11,669,457 was $700,197. If they could have loaned only their specie, the interest would have amounted to but $28,723. The banks gained

from the public annually, $671,444 above the interest on their specie, and in the twelve years $8 057,328. They collected this interest in advance, and made their dividends half-yearly to their stockholders; therefore it is proper to compound this interest half-yearly, which would swell their gains to nearly $12,000,000, that is to say, $1,000,000 interest annually. These were actual gains, as much realized by these banks as if they had produced and sold $700,167 worth of agricultural products in each year."—*Kellogg's New Monetary System*, p. 204.

It would be interesting to inquire what the people of Connecticut received in return for the million dollars they paid to the banks. The natural rights of the people demand a volume of money to meet all the requirements of industry and trade, to go into circulation in obedience to the demand for it in exchanging values, and a tribute levied upon it is sheer robbery, no less such because clothed in legal raiment. Thus banks are institutions established by law for the benefit of the few at the expense of the many, vested in corporations to legalize robbery!

The following, from the pen of T. A. Bland, M. D., is very appropriate here:

"Banks are foes to justice and equality always. They sent their coin to Europe or locked it in their vaults just at the time the government most needed it. They then suspended payment on their notes, which of course caused them to depreciate rapidly,

These depreciated promises to pay were offered to the government on a par basis, at six per cent interest in limited amount. Secretary Chase soon discovered that the banks were broken reeds. He asked Congress to authorize the issue of Treasury notes. It was done. The bankers took the alarm. This policy if continued would render the government and the people independent of the banks. The first issue of greenbacks, $60,000,000, were a full legal tender. They were as good as coin. Then the bankers formed an association, and appointed a committee of seventy-two leading bankers, and sent them to Washington to advise Congress on the subject of finances. Under the influences of this committee, Congress committed what Thaddeus Stevens denounced as a crime against the American people. The greenback was demonetized. Of course it depreciated. The next move was to get Congress to pass a National Banking law, and to authorize the sale of government bonds to raise funds to carry on the war. The bankers bought the bonds with their own depreciated currency and with depreciated greenbacks, dollar for dollar. They then deposited these interest-bearing bonds with the government, and got their face value in currency printed and guaranteed by the government. The banking ring was now intrenched in the public treasury, with substantially absolute control of the finances of the country; hence, with the power to rob the government and the people at will. It still holds the fort, and so strong and rich has it grown, that it controls both the Republican and Democratic parties. It tramples freedom and justice under its feet. It is the most stupendous, the most arrogant, and the most oppressive monopoly ring that ever existed on this continent. It

must be broken, and the power to issue and control the currency restored to the people, or the republic will perish and liberty die."

The national banks, from a capital of $483,104,213, are able to loan $1,238,286,325. This shows clearly the ability of the banks to do business on other people's money and furnish a circulating medium at the people's expense.

CHAPTER XII.

NATURAL RIGHTS CONSIDERED (CONTINUED).—TRANSPORTATION.

"All nature smiles in joy serene,
In freedom's holy light,
But man's unholy love of power
Brings on the gloom of night.
Insatiate greed inspires his soul,
Insatiate lust his heart;
Unmeasured wealth by his control
Unmeasured powers impart."

TRANSPORTATION and travel have become a necessity in the present stage of civilization, and the interests of society and the welfare of all industries and enterprises depend upon it. The best modes and cheapest rates, together with the ownership and control of operating all lines of travel and transportation, are rights inherent in the people. So extensive are these operations, involving such a vast amount of capital, that in the present selfish condition of society they cannot be intrusted to private enterprise with safety to the people. This we say in the light of facts and experience. He must be a very obtuse observer who does not see the ominous attitude of railroad corporations, who derive all their privi-

leges and means primarily from the people, and seek to override them and prey upon them. To the reflective observer, who sees this hostile attitude and the inevitable conflict that is impending, the subject must be of intense interest. Through the agency and manipulations of law, corporations arise, increase in power, and multiply in numbers, until the capital associated and consolidated becomes an irresistible power; lesser capital, operated by single individuals, yields to its mighty sway, and in all the great enterprises of manufacture, transportation, trade, and commerce, they rule with an iron hand and imperious will. The most alarming feature of this despotic domination is the *manner* in which it is done. Unlike the bandit chiefs and piratic crews who seek immunity by evading the law, they seize upon the citadel of the law itself, organize their forces, and carry on their depredations under the form and in the name of the law and the sanction of the government. This is despotism. In the palmiest days of Italian brigandage, the people were not robbed so flagrantly; the difference being their open hostility to the law; but in our case, under the mask and with the sanction of the law. "Of all the triumphs of invention, none are more wonderful than those by which the hard-earned gains of

millions are forcibly conveyed to the vaults of robber princes. No business is more highly organized, more strenuously pursued, more successfully managed, than the business of robbery." It is, under all its elaboration of method, more than robbery. By the slow process of starvation and premature death by overwork, it is murder.

It is by means of force evolved by heat, and machinery for the reception and distribution of that force, that such vast monopolies are carried on. A ton of coal will evolve a power greater than the combined force of a hundred men. The machinery to operate that force and the coal are not so expensive as a hundred men, and the difference is in favor of the capitalist. While it consumes comparatively little, it produces comparatively much. This double advantage is in favor of corporate capital; and thus cheap power and labor-saving machinery, by monopolizing the expansive power of heat and the advantage of mechanical contrivances, which are natural forces and advantages, and therefore the equal heritage of all, corporations, by the sanction and through the instrumentality of law, gather immense wealth, which is really and justly the people's wealth because they produced it.

In this way that which should be a blessing for all is converted into a curse, controlling the

market values of commodities by charging extortionate rates for freight, of labor by diminishing the demand for it, and the market prices, and thus stagnating industry and reducing the value of land, or rather appropriating its value by appropriating an undue share of its productions. If land will produce a ton of wheat to the acre, and freight is charged four dollars a ton when two is all it costs, then two dollars an acre are unjustly appropriated as often as this is done.

And what is the remedy? Let the people furnish their own means for transportation. Let the government issue, say $250,000,000 of money, a full legal tender for all debts public and private, and with it build a railroad alongside of the main trunks of the corporation lines. What would be the result? First, it would swell the volume of currency, and thus stimulate industry; second, it would furnish employment for at least a hundred thousand men and relieve the pressure of the labor market; third, it would add $250,000,000 to the national wealth; and fourth, it would bring these haughty tyrants to their senses, and show them that there is a power before which they must yield unconditionally.

By such means an enterprise compared to which this would be a mere by-play was carried

on. More than two millions of soldiers were equipped, trained, subsisted, and transported at an expense that would have built every mile of railroad in the country, and contemplated to be built for the next ten years, by the people's money.

While this measure would afford an effectual remedy it would do injustice to none. A true republic is a co-operative system in which each citizen is a stockholder and all are entitled to equal benefits; but as it is, the few gather in the wealth and the people who produce it are impoverished BY LAW. Corporate power granted to individuals is so much of the people's power taken from them: not for the people's good, as they have been led to believe, but to accumulate wealth to override the people and reduce them to a subordinate condition. Let that corporation extend to all; let the wealth be held and enjoyed by those who produce it. As poverty is removed the people are lifted up, made more virtuous, intelligent, and happy. They require more than food, raiment, and shelter. They require higher development, and time and means for it. They require all the elevating and purifying influences of æsthetic culture — in a word, to be fully developed, intellectually, morally, æsthetically, and spiritually. In our great centers of civilization

all the extremes of life exist. It is not necessary to visit London, or Paris, or even Siberia, to witness scenes of poverty and distress. In our cities, manufacturing districts, and mining localities, are to be found selfishness, crime and cruelty, wealth and wretchedness, pride and poverty. Neither need we go to the isles of the sea for exhibitions of savagism, barbaric ignorance, and enslaving superstition. The soul is sickened at the contemplation of so much misery and degradation where there might be such happiness and prosperity, so much good where there is so much evil. The great purposes of life are overlooked and lost sight of, and the few sacrifice the many upon the altar of Mammon. This is accomplished through the usurpation of human rights and the monopoly of capital. By the magic of intelligence, powers are evoked that have transformed the face of the civilized world — powers that speed the production of wealth far beyond the dreams of the optimist. One more achievement is due and indispensable to the onward march of civilization, and that is the relegation of this power to the control of the people.

The first was achieved in the domain of physical science, the second must be in the domain of mental science; the one through the agency of physical mechanism, the other must come through

the machinery of government. This is the great problem of the age — the utilization of all the natural means of wealth for all the people of a country — this is popular government, equality, justice, fraternity. It demands the full recognition of the humblest and most obscure citizen; it demands justice to all. It requires of each the development and culture of all to their highest capacity. Then justice would be established, tranquillity insured, the common defense provided for, the general welfare promoted, and the blessings of liberty secured to all, and descend as the richest and noblest heritage to posterity.

Let those who love justice, their fellow-men, and their country be reminded of their duties; let them aim at and labor to accomplish this greatest, highest, noblest destiny of man. For this the patriot fathers struggled and bled and poured out their most precious treasures. For this the down-trodden millions hope and yearn and pray. For this the noble heroes of the Old World are sacrificing life and treasure.

The theme of the poet, the dream of the humanitarian, peace, harmony, prosperity, happiness—these the full fruition of liberty, justice, equality. Justice and freedom for all—THE NEW REPUBLIC.

This government is not a republic. It is a government of landlords and tenants, of millionaires and paupers, of masters and slaves. It is a government of golden splendor, of pomp and display, and of miserable obscurity; of purple and fine linen, and debasing rags; of crime and misery in high places, and misery and crime in low places; with prisons filled and lunatic asylums overflowing, crime, insanity, and suicide increasing, drunkenness and debauchery sapping the fountain of moral purity, and threatening the overthrow of society and domestic institutions;—these are the inevitable results of inordinate wealth in the hands of the few.

And the people, with the ballot in their hands, suffer such things to be!

It may be objected that the people, or at least a great portion of them, are comparatively free and independent. Grant this. The vital question is not what we are, but whither are we tending. Twenty years ago our millionaires could be counted not to exceed a score. To-day their enumeration would carry us into thousands. Since the new system of robbery has been perfected, half a million of people have come into the possession and control of more wealth than the balance of the entire nation. In other words, two per cent of the population hold and control

more wealth than the remaining ninety-eight per cent, and the ratio of disproportion is increasing. It is the *tendency* to absolute despotism that gives character and importance to this subject.

This is the result of corporate power. A corporation is a "body politic," organized for the purpose of exercising certain powers not exercisable by individuals or voluntary associations; a legal entity separate from personal entity, exercising such powers as interfere with and override natural rights. It is a petty kingdom, endowed with perpetuity, created by law for its own aggrandizement; a usurpation of power for the benefit of the few at the expense of the many. They increase and multiply all over the land, absorbing and controlling all the elements of political power, whereby the well-being of the people is involved. These combine, confederate, and by utilizing labor-saving machinery in the production and transportation of wealth, raise up a corporate empire, ruling with an iron hand the toiling, struggling masses of the impoverished and enslaved multitude.

And this is our "republic"! What mockery!

Why do not the people rise in their might and hurl with contempt and loathing such despotism from its usurped power, and assert their rights as freemen?

CHAPTER XIII.

NATURAL RIGHTS CONSIDERED (CONTINUED).—COMMUNICATION.

"Science is a child as yet,
But her power and scope shall grow,
And her secrets, in the future,
Shall diminish toil and woe;
Shall increase the bounds of pleasure,
With an ever-widening ken,
And the woods and wildernesses
Make the homes of happy men."

A LITTLE more than forty years ago the first line of telegraphic communication was set in operation between Baltimore and Washington. Since then such lines have formed a network of communication throughout the civilized world, and connected continents thousands of miles apart.

The means by which these grand results are accomplished have been wrought out by the busy brain of the scientist, from the great storehouse of Nature, evoked from her hidden and hitherto mysterious recesses.

The value to mankind of the application of the electro-magnet in telegraphy is beyond all computation. As civilization advances, its necessities

increase, so that rapid and extended communication becomes indispensable.

This value belongs to all alike. The force by which this needful work is accomplished is given by the Creator. He has made it necessary to the higher and more advanced condition in the moral, intellectual, social, and political world, and given to his creatures the capacity to develop and appropriate it to their use.

This God-given means, this inestimable value, this imperative necessity in advancing civilization, is appropriated by corporate power, and controlled and used for corporate benefit, not only compelling exorbitant rates for its service to the many, but controlling intelligence, thereby directing national affairs and monopolizing the interests of all.

By it political movements are conducted, conventions manipulated, nominations dictated, and elections carried. By it the markets are regulated in the interests of capitalists, and prices determined. In short, it controls the political, financial, and industrial interests of the country.

And yet these arrogant usurpers have the effrontery to set themselves up as the benefactors of the land. They declare that these beneficent enterprises could not be carried on without their aid; that all the intelligence and enterprise is

confined to their narrow limits; that the people are incapable of conducting great enterprises, and should be grateful for their arduous and self-sacrificing efforts to extend the blessings of—monopoly. Moreover, they contend that those who take the world are entitled to it. They say the race is fair and open to all, and those who win are the heroes, and entitled to the spoils of their victory. It is by such sophistries as these, thrust upon the people by a subsidized press, and silenced by a refusal to give room for a discussion of the subject, that this illusion is kept up.

Now what are the facts? To begin with, our government is based upon the doctrine of vested powers and kingly prerogatives. The race is *not* open and fair. These usurpers are endowed by the government with rights and privileges not accorded to the people. The aristocratic party did this in fastening upon the people a government to all intents and purposes English in its character and tendency, and managed to get themselves elected so as to set it in operation under its newly prescribed form, with the *name* of a republic, but the *nature* of an oligarchy. With these advantages to start with, they have sought in every way to improve them. With a land-tenure system that secures millions of acres to single in-

dividuals, the domain of the country is rapidly going into few hands. The power of this monopoly is incalculable, but in consequence of the sparseness of the population, not yet fully developed. With a financial system based on the "precious metals," and conducted by banking corporations, untold millions were accumulated by the few. With kingly prerogatives granted to the chief executive, a political patronage was secured that gave dominance to the spirit of party, by which these advantages could be utilized. With a judiciary system by which all their claims are supported and protected, and the very class of men by whose efforts this system was inaugurated and set in operation were installed into office; and with ceaseless vigilance preserved that order of things by false pretenses, chicanery, political machinery, bribery, and fraud. The results are, as we see, the illimitable blessings of science and art monopolized and appropriated through government functions, by those clothed in government authority, usurped and exercised through the instrumentality of an ambitious and tyrannical aristocracy!

Public benefactors! The following extract, over the *nom de plume* "Asthoreth," sets forth in vigorous language the "benefits" claimed by these immaculate impostors:

"They have refused to pass laws the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.

"They have obstructed the administration of justice to such an extent that it is impossible to convict a rich man of a crime, and equally impossible to enforce the rights of a poor man.

"They have made judges dependent upon their will for election to and retention in office.

"They have created a multitude of new offices, and set over us swarms of officers to harass our people and eat our substance.

"They have endeavored to prevent the population of these States by monopolizing land, labor, and money to such an extent as to reduce us to the position of starving slaves.

"They keep among us in time of peace standing armies of police and military, whose establishment is supported by decrees of bribed and intimidated legislatures.

"They have set up a monetary system, based not upon the time and service of labor, but upon fictitious values set by themselves upon unproductive elements, and have forced us by inhuman laws to receive this medium in payment of our toil.

"They have created and fostered an immense and iniquitous machinery of courts and senates, ethroning as its triumvirate of tyranical rulers, debt, profit, and interest, and have used these agencies to crush out the life-blood of our people.

"They have possessed themselves of the land, and as far as possible they control all other elements of natural wealth, excluding the laborer from the ownership or use thereof.

"They have seized upon the machinery and working tools of our people, and have thus offered them no other condition of being in life save that of toiling slavery.

"They have fostered among us degrading and immoral literature, and have provided brutal and cruel amusements and maintain and protect everywhere among us establishments where poisonous, brutalizing, and intoxicating beverages are practically forced upon our people—all with a purpose of degrading our moral, mental, and physical natures to the level of the unthinking, degraded, and uncomplaining slave.

"They have corrupted the sources of public intelligence; they have been and are inculcating false ideas to our children in the common schools.

"They have endeavored to disunite us, and set brother against brother and child against parent, by religious, political, and sectional prejudices.

"They have imposed upon us prisons, almshouses, and insane asylums; they have compounded crimes, and openly flaunted guilt in the faces of the people.

"They have driven our sons to theft and our daughters to prostitution.

"They have invaded our rights of free assemblage and free speech by armed force, and have dispersed the peaceable meetings of our people.

"They have, when our people have assembled to demand their just rights given by Nature's God, fired upon and killed them, both men and women and little children."

The power by which these tyrannies and oppressions are carried on ARE LEGAL POWERS, *and are by the authority of the government*, and will so continue as long as our present form of government continues. As long as the cause continues the effects will remain.

The country has developed and improved

somewhat under this monopoly, *but not the government*, nor by its provisions. It would be impossible in the nature of things for some improvement not to have been made. But under a just system of government the results would have been infinitely greater, which, in another chapter, will be considered.

At present, telegraphic communication is monopolized by one man. He is supreme in the exercise of this power. All bow before this mighty chief. He speaks through the press: the tone of public sentiment is changed. Stocks go up or down at his bidding, and trade and commerce acknowledge the supremacy of his power.

What an illimitible blessing this would be to the people if they could utilize it! This man who holds and controls it, and realizing a net profit of six millions annually from it, did not originate it, did not build and does not support nor operate it, but appropriates it and exercises the powers it confers in perverting their true use. Thus a power that would infinitely bless the people is made the means to curse them, to deceive and mislead by manufacturing intelligence or suppressing it.

And what is the remedy? It is already anticipated. Incorporate it into the postal system,

and conduct it in the interest of the whole people. The real cost of telegraphy is small. Messages could be sent at one-fifth the cost now charged, and would form the most valuable part of the postal service.

The force is an element of nature, the machinery is the product of man's skill and labor. Why should one man, whose natural rights are no more nor better than those of another, and who had no hand in the scientific discovery, the mechanical contrivances, nor the labor of putting the machinery in working order, not only reap the entire profits of telegraphy, but use it to oppress and subjugate the people?

CHAPTER XIV.

NATURAL RIGHTS CONSIDERED (CONCLUDED).—EDUCATION.

"Wisdom is the principal thing, therefore get wisdom; and with all thy getting, get understanding."—*Proverbs.*

LIKE all other institutions, those of an educational character carry with them the traits and characteristics stamped upon them by the age in which they originated. Until within a comparatively modern period education was regarded as an accomplishment. Labor was the inevitable lot of the great mass of the people. Under monarchical governments this was the necessary consequence. Under a more liberal government education became more popular; but still it was regarded as an accomplishment.

As long as the lower classes, under the supervision of overseers, produced the wealth, the higher classes had no disposition to apply their educational acquirements to such purposes. But in a republican government, where all are equal in their political status, where all are supposed to provide for their own wants, where social relations require equal social qualifications, where

duties as citizens are required of all, education must become universal; and as its benefits must extend to all, so it must be supported by all.

Of late years this idea has become quite universal, and the people are expecting great results from our system of free schools. But if we look back for the last twenty years, in which our public schools have flourished best, what do we see? A greater change from the simplicity of our early republican principles toward aristocratic rule has taken place during that time than in all the time before. Can we say that this change has been in spite of our public schools? This would not be true. They have aided in this change. All who have been and are conspicuous in building up monopoly, in legislating, in the strife for political power, in the establishment of corporate monopoly—all of these have been and are the most highly educated. Their acquirements have aided them, qualified them for this work.

The tendency of education is away from productive vocations. As a rule, the youth who graduates from a grammar or a high school feels himself above the condition of a laborer and seeks some elegant (?) employment. While the uneducated man or woman feels a dependence on manual labor, the educated man or

woman thinks only of some professional or genteel vocation.

Class distinctions are encouraged, labor is degraded, the professions are overrun, and poverty increased. This is not all. The evils of our present system are both positive and negative: positive, because the knowledge acquired is mostly impracticable and useless, occupying the time the most precious in life, a period that cannot be compensated for, an outlay of labor and expense that cannot be recalled, for the knowledge, most of which is forgotten in after years, cannot be used, and therefore drops out like dead matter; negative, because practical and useful knowledge is neglected and lost, and the mind, by improper training, loses its vigor and power of thought and reasoning, to say nothing of the errors and false notions that come from most of the existing institutions of learning.

Due qualification for citizenship is necessary for the existence and maintenance of a true republic. Intelligence and virtue are its essentials —intelligence to comprehend the principles upon which it is founded, and virtue to appreciate the natural rights upon which it is based. Intelligence to comprehend the relation of cause and effect, to realize the condition of mind arising from false teaching and prevailing errors, and

the effect of exciting causes which constant activity unconsciously develops, and traits of character which greatly modify individuals and even nations; and virtue that inspires that moral sense that will not tolerate wrong, such love and veneration for justice as regards every violation of it as a sacrilege.

Of the former, are the blind acceptance of opinions long cherished, without examination or reason, or the strong adherence to them in spite of reason, and the rejection of new ideas without examination or reason. Of the latter, blind adherence to party, and clanish spirit, pride, intolerance, and arrogance.

A little reflection will show how difficult it is for communities or even individuals to change their opinions. Indeed, it is difficult, for just when to change opinion is the test of wisdom.

That we must change our opinions sometime is evident from the fact that nothing in nature is at a stand-still. We are carried onward by the law of progress, and must conform to its changeful conditions.

It is curious and interesting to study the advance of great ideas in the past. Sensuous perception for ages limited the intellectual powers of man. If a great genius, like Pythagores, penetrated the veil of sensuous perception and

proclaimed the deeper phenomena of nature, as in the motion of the planets, it was silenced by the sensuous perception of the Ptolemaic theory for a thousand years. The Apparent veiled the Real. Even the clear and forcible reasoning of Copernicus availed nothing. The Real disclosed by the laws of Galileo banished the Apparent, and gave the world a deeper insight into the great *arcana* of nature. The deeper comprehension of Columbus in penetrating the veil of the Apparent went for naught; only visions of possible wealth and dominion, coupled with woman's inherent faith and trust in man, triumpeed over sensuous perception.

It is humiliating and surprising when we look back and discover how long we have been beating against a grand idea without seeing it. So simple a thing as the art of printing was on the point of being discovered for a thousand years. The invention of the telescope was a mere accident; and the phenomena that led to the discovery of steam in its application as a motive power were familiar for thousands of years. Professor Morse was ridiculed when he applied to Congress for a small appropriation to enable him to put in operation his simple plan of telegraphy.

And we are now, undoubtedly looking at ideas

as grand as any yet utilized without seeing them. Heat as a motor, electricity as a subtile agent in disturbing static conditions, chemical action in composing and disolving forms of matter—these phenomena have been familiar to man, coeval with his very existence, yet how recent it is that he has made them factors in working out the great problems of life!

Here is a lesson in this history of the past, and it is time we should have learned it; namely, other ideas as productive of human welfare, though in other fields of research, are waiting the magic touch of human genius to invoke their powers for human weal, thus complementing the domain of research, and rounding out and developing the many-sided phases of human activities.

It is a well-known fact that physical science has far outstripped the more intricate departments of mental science. Mechanics in its application to machinery, enginery, military operations, manufactories, and chemical appliances are far in advance of political, social, and ethical sciences; and it is in these fields of research that attention is being directed. In political science, the advance has been slow, labored, and uncertain.

The earlier writers, misled by sensuous perception, looking only on the surface of things, taking effects for causes, laid down their theories;

and subsequent writers have accepted them without due examination, and sometimes without even question.

Thus we see how difficult it is to uproot old ideas and long-established opinions. This is the work of education, and yet education has been and is now a prominent factor in perpetuating the existing condition of things.

The intelligence to comprehend the condition of the present, and a realization of the difficulty in removing the errors of past and present teachings, are essential requisites. This condition and these traits being understood, the real work of educational reform will then commence. The laws of mental action, in development and culture, which have unconsciously established the existing conditions, have not been fully recognized and understood.

The fundamental law by which all educational processes are carried on may be briefly stated—*exercise is the law of development.* Any cause that excites the activity of a power or faculty invigorates, itensifies, and develops that power or faculty within the limits of its nutrition. The truth of this proposition is more tersely expressed in the adage, "Practice makes perfect." This law determines all character and the *formation* of all character. The child born of German

parents and reared in an American home, surrounded by American influences, loses its German characteristics and becomes Americanized, and in one or two generations a new cast of character takes the place of the old one. In improving domestic animals the same law prevails; certain qualities of the horse or the dog most desirable to be developed are carefully and judiciously exercised. So permanently do these traits become fixed that they are transmitted by inheritance. The operation of this law is seen even in the vegetable kingdom. Thus fruits, cereals, and flowers are cultivated to a high degree of perfection.

In the higher and more complicated structures this law operates with most effect; and in the human type it displays its greatest powers. It is by this law that national characteristics are produced and preserved. Even new characteristics might be evoked from the plastic mind if a new influence were to act persistently and for a sufficient length of time. Sailors can discern and distinguish vessels that a landsman cannot see; the accountant runs up his columns and sets down his results with astonishing rapidity and ease; the pianist sweeps the chords of his instrument, evoking a flood of harmony, while the voice pours forth a melody in perfect unison with it.

This is the great underlying law of all activities —the developing power.

We are now prepared to make the application of this law in the formation of our national character. The inordinate love of money made valuable by the device of law and the necessities of exchange above all commodities, and by its scarcity that value increased—this love so excited and constantly acting on the mind has developed avarice as the national characteristic. Let us for a moment contemplate the value of money over and above all transferable things, so made by law. The value of a fortune can be expressed on a bit of paper and carried in the vest pocket. It will command anything in the market at any time or place within the jurisdiction of the government creating it. It commands time, opportunity, ease, pleasure; its possessor may command power, dominion, honor, and position. It is the magic wand that transforms the slave into the master, the pauper into the millionaire; it converts hovels into palaces and serfs into lords. It wipes out the stain of dishonor and shields the criminal from justice.

Nothing else can vie with it, nothing can compare with it, nothing so good in the estimation of its votaries—and who are not its votaries? This love, excited by such vast, varied, and mighty

powers, has burned with incessant intensity in the hearts of the people for ages. Is it any wonder, then, that it is developed into uncontrollable avarice? There is no passion or ambition it cannot satisfy, no elevation that its possessor cannot reach — passion that degrades and brutalizes, ambition that transforms the man into the demon. "The love of money," said Paul, "is the root of all evil." Avarice is a moral poison, a passion that overrides and crushes out the finer sensibilities and nobler emotions of the soul. It is the perversion of a faculty necessary in the economy of life as a means and subject to control, but a cruel tyrant, a relentless, grasping, devouring monster, when it gains the mastery.

Thus the nation has been educated. The phrase "almighty dollar" is as familiar as a household word. Thus wealth has become an object of worship. Thus every man's hand is turned against his fellow in its tireless pursuit.

The great struggle of life is for money. The high and the low, the rich and the poor, long for it, yearn for it, pray for it, fight for it, toil for it, sacrifice love, virtue, honor, health, happiness, and life for it. It has made truthful in the estimation of men the parody of the wise man's saying, "Money is the principal thing, therefore get money; and with all thy getting, get money." Get it honestly if you can, but—get it.

The spirit of avarice rules the nation. It is the great educator of the people, and well has it done its work. Inspired by it, fraud, theft, robbery, and murder reign supreme, and in the form of corporate power prey upon the people's wealth and trample upon their liberties. Usurping their rights, it has arrayed its forces and organized its schemes in national banks, in stocks and rings, in transportation corporations, in telegraph and insurance companies, manufacturing establishments, mining enterprises, market and commercial exchanges, and every business and industry in which capital can rob and enslave labor. It has poisoned the "milk of human kindness" and embittered the cup of joy; the purest bosom has felt its glow, and the softest cheek its feverish breath.

It enters every department of life; all feel its withering touch. It has desolated the homes of millions, and driven their inmates into the streets, into the poor-house, into the Potter's Field. The toilers in the workshop, in the field, on land and sea, and in the bowels of the earth are made to bow their heads at its command. Tramps plod their way in hunger and rags, and paupers take their meager sustenance from the tribute of their less unfortunate fellow-creatures.

To the wealthy, this tyrant is scarcely more

lenient. Victors and victims alike fall a prey to his insatiate greed; the one class, moral paupers, stripped of their manhood, honor, love, virtue, benevolence; all humanly qualities gone, greed hardens their hearts and steels them against the finer and nobler emotions of the soul, thus fitting them for the doom pronounced upon them by the gentle Nazarene: "It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter the kingdom of heaven."

The other class are the victims of greed, poverty and wretchedness, suffering and sorrow, toil and weariness, ignorance and obscurity. Thus, all the fruits of avarice are evil, and the people of all classes suffer from it.

The true teacher has not yet come. We long and pray for his advent. When he comes, we will look back with astonishment at the ignorance and superstition that prevailed, and the stolid indifference of the people at the cause of so much misery and selfishness, and congratulate ourselves that they have disappeared in the sunshine of an enlightened age.

He will come in the garb of science—political science. He will unfold the true principles of money. He will divest it of its overmastering charm. He will make it the servant of industry, "the tool of trade." He will dethrone it, and

teach its true use. He will teach and enforce the law of justice; from it will come equality; from equality, liberty; from liberty, fraternity; from fraternity, peace, harmony, prosperity. The true aims of life will be recognized, and education will develop, culture, and harmonize the individual to his full capacity. Such individuals will constitute the aggregate; and as the units are so will the aggregate be.

Avarice and his brazen imp, Monopoly, will disappear, and the forces that are now employed in impoverishing and enslaving the people will serve to establish their equality and secure their liberty.

Not comprehending the cause of the greed and selfishness of man, his wickedness and crimes, it was ascribed to the disobedience of our first parents; but mankind are just as good as they can be under the circumstances. Let the developing influences and refining processes of education call out the higher and better elements of our nature; then we would have vastly better conditions.

And this is the mission of true education. Mere instruction forms but a small part of it; *that* will come with development and culture. Looking to the qualification for citizenship, to a comprehension of the principles of political science and their relation to human rights, to the

structure of government, its purposes and objects, its legislative and executive powers, qualification for the elective franchise and the proper mode of its exercise, the distribution of its wealth and enjoyment of the natural means of wealth; in the regulation of all its industries, public and private, in transportation and travel, in lines of communication for intelligence, in trade and commerce, in providing for its revenue, in all its industries; in its sanitary regulations, in the care and protection of its moral interests, in its protection against crime and the treatment of its criminals, in its social requirements, in its educational department—scientific, philosophical, literary, and æsthetic—and other things pertaining to a people's government, it will make adequate provisions. In other words, it will secure the full, true, many-sided phases of human character, fully rounded out and completed

Education means unfoldment, growth, development, culture, the power of appreciation, judgment, original thought, and self-reliant action. It means the use of all the appliances that contribute to the fullest unfoldment of all the powers and faculties of the human being; not only to use and enjoy, but to control and direct. To the vigor of the mind; to the harmony of the social relations; to the happiness of domestic

life; to the production and distribution of wealth; to the culture of taste and refinement by the exalting and ennobling influences of the fine arts, music, painting, sculpture;—this is the mission, these the true aims and purposes, of education.

But long-established customs and settled opinions, the wrong and pernicious influences that predominate and result in the undue development of the selfish propensities, the evils and defects arising from false notions and methods of education, render it extremely difficult to institute measures that will result in the greatest good to the greatest number. And this is the highest interest of the people, and to secure these results their imperative duty.

Experience has shown that "mankind are more disposed to suffer while evils are sufferable than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed." This goes to show how difficult it is to effect reforms.

When we comprehend the causes that have brought into existence the present conditions, and not till then, will we be ready not only to remove them, but we will likewise have the ability to do it. Correct thought must precede correct action. Opinion rules the actions of men.

When the Jersey City freight-handlers struck for three cents an hour additional, they gave

away the whole question involved in the labor problem, and resolved it into the one of, What shall the wages be? They admitted the right to hold them in the bonds of wage-service, and while that opinion prevails there is no hope of emancipation from the greed of capital. So long as men are satisfied to surrender their natural rights for a mere pittance and their dignity as men, thus conceding the right of capital to control labor, barter their liberties, and sacrifice their manhood for a price, we may be sure of a continuation of slavery without mitigation or relief.

So long as the cultivators of the soil only demand less rents as a measure of reform, they ignore the very question involved in the reform, and may be sure of the continuance of the relation of landlords and tenants, lords and serfs. So long as the wealth-producer believes that money possesses intrinsic value based on its convertibility into gold and silver, so long will he be cursed and impoverished by the unjust distribution of wealth, and be willing to suffer his hard earnings to be accumulated by money-lenders in the shape of interest. So long as mechanics and tradesmen believe that banking institutions are just and necessary, so long will they continue to be robbed by the control of prices, by

development and culture in all the attributes of their being to their full capacity, they seem to expect little more than they realize.

It is difficult to think aright; it is more difficult to act aright when thought is rightly directed and the ideal formed; but by the exercise of will, by surrounding one's self with good influences and repelling bad ones, and persisting in this, that ideal character can be realized.

When this is done, education will have done its work. All the powers and faculties of the human being will be developed and cultivated to the highest capacity, and the "pursuit of happiness" will be crowned in full fruition.

CHAPTER XV.

LABOR AND CAPITAL.

"See yonder poor, o'erlabored wight,
So abject, mean, and vile,
Who begs a brother of the earth
To give him leave to toil.
Then see his lordly fellow-worm
The poor petition spurn,
Unmindful though a weeping wife
And helpless offspring mourn."

WITH the vast amount of speculation and discussion in regard to the relation of labor and capital, the problem seems as far from solution as ever. To discuss this important question, it will be necessary to take up and examine each factor involved, and consider all of them in their logical order.

The ultimate object of all labor is the production of values; but without the necessary conditions and appliances for its embodiment and utilization it is of no avail. Labor perishes the instant it is performed, and without embodying its results it is lost forever. One might labor all day in lifting at a heavy weight, with no result save that of physical exhaustion.

Mere human exertion, then, without embodi-

usury, and the golden harvests by operating fictitious capital. So long as the people believe that corporations have the right to control public highways, and claim in them the rights of absolute ownership and the right to consolidate their interests to monopolize transportation, and thus control labor and market prices, so long will these corporations continue their brigandage upon the toiling millions. So long as the people have full confidence in our educational institutions, and regard them as the "palladium of our liberties," there will be no disposition to change them—for they contribute largely to the perpetuation of existing conditions.

Without a radical change in public sentiment; without a clear conviction that our system of government is wrong—no matter what the opinion is as to the mode of administering the existing one; until the conviction is clear and positive that vested powers have usurped natural rights, whereby laws are enacted in favor of the few to rob the many, and an executive power instituted by which these laws are enforced—there is no hope for a remedy.

When courts fail to administer justice; when they become the willing tools of designing men and powerful corporations, by which the strong are supported and the weak without protection;

when these are manipulated wholly by a special and exclusive class requiring special training, and the validity of their authority goes unquestioned by the people, who bow with submission to that authority—what hope is there in reform in the administration of justice, or the substitution of a better mode?

It can never be. A revolution must come; and it will come. Shall it come in blood, or in peace? By the bayonet, or the ballot? By passion, or reason? By the desolation of war, or the guidance of wisdom? We hope and toil and pray for the latter. Let us transform this oligarchy of wealth, this usurpation of power, this monopoly of capital, this universal greed of avarice, by which millions upon millions are made to bow their backs for the burdens of despotism, and bend the knee in servile submission to a proud and haughty aristocracy, into a NEW REPUBLIC, wherein justice will hold rule and the law of righteousness will prevail, equality and liberty founded on the natural, inalienable rights of man will bless this oppressed and greed-cursed people. How little they appreciate this transformation! Accustomed to wrongs and usurpations, to false theories and dictation, and having never tasted the sweets of liberty, harmony, competence, and the inestimable blessings of that full and exalted

ment in valuable results, is a waste of life and of its purposes, the aim of the laborer. Its importance may be better estimated when we consider that, with the exception of air and water, there is no necessary or luxury of life that is not the production of labor or made valuable by it. Labor, then, in the sense here considered, is human exertion in the production of values.

There are three essential factors in such production; namely, land, labor, and capital. The ultimate of human exertion is value. Utility is the measure of value. All that can be appropriated to the use of life is value. All value is in some way consumed, for its use depends on consumption.

Consumption, then, is the basis of all values, because all values are in some way consumed. Life is one continued series of production and consumption, of composition and decay, of creation and destruction; even death itself is the essential and indispensable condition of life.

To produce those forms of matter necessary for consumption is the first object of all labor. The inexhaustible resources of potential wealth, that is, natural elements wrought into values, and the intelligence, skill, and industry of man, are all utilized that he may live; and to live is to realize all the possibilities of life by developing, cultivat-

ing, and harmonizing all the attributes of man, thus lifting him up and out from his low estate of ignorance and selfishness, and fitting him for his high and noble destiny.

Consumption is the demand, and human exertion, coupled with nature's resources, is the supply. Here we have the basis of political economy. As population increases, the demand for its necessities are balanced by the increasing intelligence and inventive resources in creating supply. But there is an essential factor in supply that will not respond to man's intelligence and inventive genius nor his creative power.

That factor is *land*. When population increases and accumulates, and demand keeps pace with it, this essential factor remains fixed. Its control in the production of values gives to the owners thereof control of life; and as every one has the right to control his own life, he has a right to the means of control.

As population increases, the value of land increases, for the plain reason that increase of population carries with it increased demand; and as demand rises above supply, the primary source of supply (land), being fixed in quantity, must rise in value. Primarily and essentially, land has no value; without population to consume its products there would be no value. Were there but

one man on the earth, the value of all the land on it would be measured by the value of his life; with two, it would be doubled; and so on.

Land has no market value so long as all who wish to occupy it have full access to it. But as population begins to press, and the quantity is proportionally lessened to the population, its market value begins to rise, and continues to as long as population continues to increase. We say "market value," because, so long as government is founded on the individual rights of property, land will be included in the category of such rights, with the sole restriction of limitation. While the right to values produced is commensurate with the ability of the individual to produce them, the right to land is commensurate with the right to life itself, since it is given by the Creator and is not a product of labor.

This rise in the value of land is measured by the value it yields—value increased by the increased demand for it—and should belong to the owner of the land, if it is owned only by those who cultivate it. This would be proper, for as no man has a right to land that he cannot cultivate, it belongs to those who can.

Absolute property in land secures the value of it to the owner who is only a unit in the increase of such value, and is therefore not entitled to

more than his proportion of such value. In the monopoly of land, one of its great evils consist in the holder of large tracts taking the benefits of the increase of value by increase of population—a value for which no exchange is given.

The consideration now is the control and monopoly of this essential factor, land, in the solution of the labor problem. Since it is co-essential with the factor, labor, it must hold an intimite and important relation to it; and since land is the primary source of values essential to life, the other factors are dependent on it.

The monopolist can demand a share of the products of the soil in proportion to the extent of his monopoly. In proportion to that demand, labor's share is diminished and labor cheapened. This effect is not limited to agriculture, but extends to all the departments of industry. The poverty of the laboring classes in Europe is owing mainly to this cause; for, as has been stated, increasing the price of land and products, labor's share of such increase would rise as increase in land (released from monopoly) rises, if rents were not exacted, for the value of such rents would go to labor. The principal reason why labor is not reduced to the European standard is owing to the large area of land in proportion to the population.

The pressure is not yet strongly felt; our population is yet sparse, and our public domain is wide, and the ability to appropriate additional domain not yet exhausted, but the principle and conditions are all here, only waiting the inevitable results of those principles and the logic of those conditions to develop the curse of landlordism to its European standard on American soil.

"In charging the Dublin jury in the Land League cases, Mr. Justice Fitzgerald told them that the land laws of Ireland were more favorable to tenant than those of Great Britain, Belgium, or the United States. As a matter of fact, Justice Fitzgerald was right."—*Henry George.*

We even now feel the oppression of landlordism, even with a population comparatively sparse; but the appropriation of land in large tracts to single individuals is rapidly going on, and the laborer will be reduced to the standard of European peasantry as an inevitable result.

In the further examination of this subject, it will be well to define the terms usually employed in the discussion of the labor question.

Land includes soil, water, all minerals and metals, timber, air, and sunlight.

Labor is human exertion in the production of values.

Capital is that portion of wealth employed in the production of values.

Rent is the increase of value in land arising from and measured by the increased demand for its productions by increasing population.

Wage is the compensation for labor in the production of values.

Profit is compensation for the consumption of wealth in the production of values.

Wealth is a general term, and includes all values.

The true formula of the labor problem in agricultural industry may be stated thus:

(1.) Land + (labor + capital) = values, the means of life under the ownership and control of one individual.

In manufactures the formula is:

(2.) Raw material (land products) + (labor + capital) = values, which may be consumed or exchanged.

In mining industries the formula is:

(3.) Mines (portions of land) + (labor + capital) = values, to be consumed or exchanged.

In transportation, travel, and communication:

(4.) Road-beds, streams, and coasts (portions of land) + (labor + capital) = increased values.

Thus it will be seen that labor and capital are inseparable companions in the production of values, and land in some form is its basis. In all private enterprises and for individual gain,

labor and capital must be furnished by the same person; that is, every man must operate his own capital. In all enterprises of a public character, they are to be carried on by corporations, in which the people are stockholders and equal recipients of the dividends. In transportation, travel, and lines of communication, postal service, commerce, education, and means for defense, the people in their governmental capacity should operate and control them. In private enterprises, voluntary associations of capital may be permitted, wherein the laborers are co-owners with the capitalists and recipients of the dividends regulated on a just basis.

The true relation of capital and labor, where wealth is produced directly from the soil, is the occupancy and cultivation of the land only by the owners of it. This is the solution of the labor problem in the department of agricultural industry. As long as land is held in large quantities, and the holding protected by law, and this accepted as legitimate, the problem will remain unsolved—the premise being wrong, the conclusion, however logical, must be wrong.

In other departments of industry, the principle is that all who participate in the production of values shall be recipients of its dividends; thus, a common interest is established which will harmon-

ize capital and labor, and annihilate all antagonisms that now threaten such serious results.

The great difficulty is in overcoming the rapacity and greed of capitalists, and arousing the spirit and enterprise of the wage-laborer.

According to the national census, the proportion of people engaged in agriculture outnumbers all others engaged in industrial pursuits. Nothing remains but for them to secure the benefits of equal protection, which they would gladly extend to their fellow-laborers in other departments of industry. In accordance with provisions already existing, the power is in their hands. The burdens of transportation, the robbery of market exchanges, the oppressions of landlords, the tyranny of courts, and exorbitant taxes bear them down, and crush out the spirit of independence. Careworn and weary, harassed with debt and uncertainty, they have neither time nor opportunity for the enjoyment of social and intellectual pleasures. The farmer, who should be the most independent, with the exception of wage-servers and tramps, is the most dependent; the primary producer of the chief values for consumption, they are spirited out of his hands, and he is often left in want. Let him once understand his power and appreciate the value of his rights, they would soon be his to enjoy. His is the most important

and independent vocation; let him take the lead, but this importance and independence exist only in song and story, while he, following in the lead of some wily, ambitious demagogue, under the stimulus of the party lash, becomes the willing dupe and supporter of his schemes for personal advancement.

In regard to wage-earners, who are at the mercy of their employers with the present antagonism between capital and labor, the case is still worse. Wage-service is slavery; not such as existed in the Southern States, where the interest of the master was in the welfare of his slave, and thus prompted by selfishness to keep him in good condition; but such slavery as cupidity and avarice dictate: when one is disabled or worn down with toil, he is turned out for another to take his place. He is so dependent that he cannot afford to displease his master, however much he may feel inclined to do so. His liberty and manhood have disappeared; the semblance of his liberty consists in the right to starve, and of his manhood in the disgrace attached to "strikes" and riots. He will concede all this, and still go on in his servitude. This condition of an "American freeman," with the elective franchise in his hand, is terrible to contemplate: in a land where all are "equal," he in poverty and rags, his em-

ployer in "purple and fine linen"; the one going to his rented hovel, the other to his gilded palace.

Labor is the expenditure of life itself, and he who sells it for a mere pittance is to all intents and purposes a slave, and will continue so as long as he appeals for higher wages or better conditions while his master holds the power.

Mr. Julian, on the floor of Congress, said:

"Nothing is more remarkable than the growing tendency of legislation in this country to lend itself to the service of capital of great corporations, of monopolies of every sort, while too often turning an unfriendly eye upon the people, and especially upon the laboring poor. The cause of this may fairly be traced to the evil genius of the times, which makes the greed for sudden wealth a sort of devouring passion, and thus naturally seizes upon the machinery of government in the accomplishment of its purposes. This bad spirit, which has been steadily marching toward its alarming ascendency since the outbreak of the late civil war, writes itself down upon every phase of society and life.

"It breeds political corruption in the most gigantic and frightful forms. It whets the appetite for public plunder, and through the aggregation of capital in the hands of the cunning and unscrupulous, it menaces the equal rights of the people and the well-being of society. So malign a spirit must be confronted. It is no more a question of party politics, for it threatens the life of all parties, and the perpetuity of the government itself. It not only invokes the saving offices of the preacher and

the moralist, but it summons to new duties and increased vigilance every man who really concerns himself for the welfare of his country.

"I believe the evil to which I refer finds some explanation in the false teachings of political economy. According to many of the leading writers on this science, its fundamental idea is the creation and increase of productive wealth. If farming on a great scale, carried on with skill and appliances which concentrated capital alone can command and methodize, will yield greater results than the tillage of the soil in small homesteads and by ruder methods, then the system of large farming must be preferred, though it deprives multitudes of the poor of all opportunity to acquire homes and independence, and entails the appalling evils of landlordism, and the whole brood of mischiefs with which the monopoly of the soil has scourged the people in every age.

"So if manufacturing on a grand scale, with the perfected machinery and cheap labor which capital can wield, turn out a larger product and at lower prices than numerous small industries, then such manufactories must be fostered, though the policy pauperizes and brutalizes thousands of human beings who take rank as 'operatives,' and whose existence is made a curse rather than a blessing. I protest against such principles as both false and unjust. 'The increase of wealth,' says Sismondi, 'is not the end of political economy, but its instrument in procuring the happiness of all. It regards chiefly the producer, and strives for the welfare of the people through a just distribution. It is not the object of nations to produce the greatest quantity of work at the cheapest rate.'

"In the light of these broad and humane princi-

ples I interpret the duty of the government. Its mission within the sphere of its just powers is *to protect labor*, the source of all wealth; and to seek constantly the well-being of the millions who toil. Capital can take care of itself. Always sagacious, sleepless, and aggressive, it holds all the advantages in its battle with labor. The balance of power falls so naturally in its hands that labor has no opportunity to make a just bargain. The labor market, it has been well observed, differs from any other. The seller of every other commodity has the option to sell or not; but the commodity the workingman brings is life. He must sell it or die. Labor, therefore, should not be regarded as merchandise to be bought and sold, and governed by the law of supply and demand, but as capital, and its human needs should always be considered. 'The rugged face of society,' says a celebrated writer, 'checkered with the extremes of affluence and want, proves that some extraordinary violence has been committed upon it, and calls on justice for redress. The great mass of the poor in all countries have become a hereditary race, and it is next to impossible for them to get out of the state of themselves. It is also to be observed that this mass increases in all countries that are called civilized. The proposition that the rich are becoming richer and the poor becoming poorer has been vehemently denied, but I cannot doubt its truth for a moment. I want no statistics to settle it, since the unnatural domination of capital over labor, which instead of being repressed by legislation is systematically aided by it, clears the question of all doubt. Our vitiated currency largely increases the cost of necessaries of life, and is thus a heavy tax upon the poor. Our system of national banking is an organized monopoly in the interests

of capitalists, is demanded by no public necessity, and renders no substantial service in return for the burdens it imposes on the people. . . . .

"The population of our great cities and towns, instead of re-enforcing the rural districts, is unduly increasing; and so is the number of buildings devoted to banking, brokerage, insurance, and kindred projects. Not production, but *traffic*, is the order of the day. The enhanced cost of the instruments requisite for the prosecution of industrial pursuits, and the higher price of fuel, food, and clothing, naturally hinder the accumulation of capital sufficient to enable the man of small means to establish himself as an independent producer. This necessity subordinates labor more and more to capital, and concentrates the business of manufacturing and exchanging into large establishments, while working the destruction of smaller ones. Of course, the tendency of all this is to render the many dependent on the few for the means of their livelihood, rather than upon themselves, and to divide society into two classes: the capitalists, who own everything; and hands, who own nothing, but depend entirely on the capital class.

"That the policy of the government to a great extent evokes and aggravates these evils can scarcely be questioned; and that the policy results from the ugly fact that the laboring and producing classes are unrepresented in the government, save by the non-producers and traffickers, is equally clear. It illustrates the evils of class legislation, and calls on the people to apply the remedy."

"The unproductives," says Commissioner Wells, "being the chief makers of the laws and institutions for the protection of labor and ingenuity, the increase of production, and the exchange and trans-

fer or property, they shape all their devices so cunningly and work them so cleverly, that they, the non-producers, continue to grow rich faster than the producers. Whoever at this day watches the subject and pursues legislation, and appreciates the spirit of the laws, cannot fail to perceive how more and more the idea of the *transfer* of the surplus products of society, and the creation of facilities for it, available to the cunning and the quick as against the dull and the slow, has come to pervade the whole fabric of that which we call government; and how large a number of the most progressive minds in the nation have been led to accept as a fundamental truth in political doctrine that the best way to take care of the many is to commence by taking care of the few; that all that which is necessary to secure the well-being of the workman is to provide a satisfactory profit for his employer."

Labor and capital are inseparable and must harmonize. Labor must own and control capital. These are the essential conditions of the problem which render its solution simple and easy. There can be no other. If capital controls labor, the laborer is the victim of avarice and tyranny. Eight-hour agitations, trades-unions, and other associations for the protection of labor against capital are ineffectual as a remedy, but useful as educators. Strikes imply the right of capital to control labor, and thus surrender the whole question.

All of these means can prove but palliatives at best. We might as well attempt to solve the

problem of eclipses on the Ptolemaic theory of astronomy.

"The labor question is indeed the natural successor and logical sequence of the slavery question. It is, in fact, the same question in another form, since the practical ownership of labor by capital necessarily involves the ownership of the laborer himself."

We speak of labor and capital in the same category. This is not true. Labor is guided by intelligence, and this becomes an element in it. It is human exertion, and human exertion is the expenditure of life itself. It is inspired by love; it is prompted by affection. It is life, energy, clothed with moral power, and in it are involved the welfare and destiny of the human race.

The control of labor by capital means the reign of avarice. It is simply brigandage, robbery, despotism. In the hands of greedy, ambitious, and unscrupulous men—and they are the ones who seek it—its power consists in controlling the means of life, and thus controlling life itself. The first great necessity of life is a bare subsistence. When this alone exists, and is dependent on the will and interest of another, the relation is that of master and slave. And such is the condition of wage-labor; and by the agencies now at work the wealth-producer is rapidly

reaching the same condition. The subserviency of legislation to corporate rule, the immense power vested in the executive by which party spirit is excited and fostered, the servility of the courts and their authority in interpreting law, the exercise of sovereign functions of the government by a confederation of corporations prompted by avarice and lust of dominion, have already cast the die; and without a radical reconstruction of government, the inevitable doom of labor is SLAVERY.

Since the sole purpose of labor is the production of wealth, and labor-saving machinery by its advantages in utilizing mechanical forces is held in the hands of capitalists, manual labor is compelled to compete with it; and this power to perform more work and much cheaper is utilized by the capitalists to further oppress labor. Manual labor costs more than machine labor. To produce a manual laborer, twenty years of time and a vast amount of values are consumed. His capacity is comparatively limited, and his subsistence absorbs a large proportion of his production. To produce a machine laborer, little time is required, and the cost is comparatively small; while the productive power is much greater than that of the manual laborer. With these advantages, capitalists build up vast manufactories in

which most of the labor is performed by machinery, and then invoke the aid of government in chartering corporations, clothing them with legal powers not permitted to individuals or simple partnerships, and *protecting the manufacturing industries of the country.*

The Southern slave-owner never became a millionaire, because the cost of labor in the slave was so great. While a thousand dollars in slave capital would bring but a meager net profit, the same amount in labor-saving machinery would be as much greater as its power to produce is greater and the cost of running it is less; thus, the Eastern capitalist becomes a millionaire. Besides, the superannuated and disabled slave was supported by his owner; but the white slave is obliged to shift for himself, and look out for employment, under the serious disadvantages of competition with the wage-seeker, and the despotism of the employer or his agent. In this way, the wage-slave is reduced to a worse condition than the negro slave. Practically, the question of personal liberty has but little consideration; not only from the fact that the negro is disposed to contentment with the supply of physical wants, but from the further fact that necessity and poverty leave but little liberty to enjoy for the wage-slave, however keenly he may feel the practical deprivation.

Thus, by the application of the power of steam and electricity to labor-saving machinery, the capitalist is enabled to produce wealth by converting it into labor. The laborer is thereby robbed, because these powers and appliances are appropriated and monopolized by the few who can command capital. These powers and appliances are the gifts of God and the ingenuity of men in the laboring ranks. Legislatures have legalized and courts have confirmed these appropriations, and thus the law is made the instrument of oppression and robbery.

The rights of the people are as dear and sacred as life itself, and the government whose sole functions are the regulation and protection of those rights is employed to rob the people of them by their usurpation and exercise by unscrupulous men whose ambition is to vie with the splendor and station of their competitors across the sea. And the people are made by their labor and servitude to support them.

Law cannot make a wrong right nor a right wrong; yet here is a system which robs the producers of wealth more effectually and systematically, and with as little remorse, as the bandit outlaws of society commit theirs; a system that condemns millions of human beings to a struggling, lingering existence, amid the lavishment of

wealth and display of magnificence equaled only by the richest aristocracies of Europe, and in a country abounding in the most profuse natural resources that nature has ever lavished upon any country.

What is the remedy? Correct thought must precede correct action. No one can do right without he thinks right. Here comes the question of education. The cause of the present selfish condition has been discussed. Avarice has been the great teacher, and well has he done his work. The love of money is the ruling passion. Greed, cruel and relentless, is the presiding genius, and all the skill and ingenuity of man has been employed to incorporate it into a government to concentrate and perpetuate its power.

The inherent tendency of the human mind is to reverence authority, the more especially when expressed in the form of law and under the sanction of courts. Antiquity fortifies it, and imposing ceremonies give it an irresistible charm. The power of custom and habit to which the mind becomes familiar offers serious obstacles in the way of reform—obstacles that can only be removed by reason and a keen sense of right.

The first thing is to consider the principles upon which a system is founded, and upon them lay out the proper procedure. We must decide

what we want—what is needed to carry out the work. In the problem before us we have land, labor, and capital: land, the universal source of supply; labor, the appliance of means to develop and produce; and capital, the means for the production. Land, being a fixed quantity and base of supply, must be limited to the requirements of and controlled by labor. Capital, which is but stored-up labor, is the inseparable agent of labor. But as an indispensable and essential condition, the laborer must be intelligent and just. "The first question," says Henry George, "that naturally arises is that of right. Among whatever kind of people such a matter as this is discussed, the question of right is sure to be raised. This to me seems a very significant thing, for I believe it to spring from nothing less than a universal perception of the human mind—a perception often dim and vague, yet still a universal perception—that justice is the supreme law of the universe, so that as a short road to what is best, we instinctively ask what is right."

Now, what is the right in this case? That which one produces with his own means belongs to him. No one can deny this proposition. If capital is furnished by another, a portion of the products belongs to him. The two are then partners. Since capital is stored-up labor, they

are really one factor in the production of wealth. But labor is intelligent; it is life itself and must control. Either the laborer must own the capital, or unite his interests with the owner of it. Then the interests of capital and labor are united, and protection to labor comes under the law of self-preservation. Labor-saving machinery would be utilized for the benefit of all, and wealth would increase, and poverty, with its consequent crime, degradation, and misery, would disappear, and the blessings of a true republic bring to realization all that the patriot fathers aimed to accomplish.

CHAPTER XVI.

TARIFF.

"The freest government cannot long endure when the tendency of the law is to create a rapid accumulation of property in the hands of the few, and to render the masses poor and dependent."—*Daniel Webster.*

"If I could, I would have free trade with all the world, without toll or custom-house."—*Emerson.*

INTIMATELY connected with the question of the relations of labor and capital is that of tariff. The question arises from a conflict of local interests, as a method of raising a national revenue and protecting certain industries. In manufacturing districts, high rates of tariff are contended for, and in agricultural districts the theory of low rate and even free trade seems to prevail.

A tariff is a tax or duty laid on certain articles or commodities imported from foreign countries, as a mode of revenue and for the protection of domestic manufactures.

As a source of revenue, it is quite generally admitted. This arises from the concessions of political parties in recognizing a tariff; but this method for revenue is open to serious objections,

even if a better system were not at hand. As a means of protection, it is a complete success to the extent to which it is carried. But whom does it protect? Labor, and thus lift it from servile dependence? The fact, as shown in the United States Census Reports, that wage-labor is less than a dollar a day, and has steadily decreased about eight per cent since 1870, will show that labor is not the object of its fostering care. But somebody is protected. The rapid increase of capital in manufacturing and mining localities answers the question. But the tariff system is open to other serious objections, which will be considered in this chapter.

Not only will the reader's judgment be appealed to, but facts from authentic sources will be presented to explain why politicians and subsidized journals are so sensitive on this subject. Let us illustrate:

"A St. Louis merchant went to New York to purchase goods. He first called on an English merchant who sold goods from his own manufactory in England. The St. Louis merchant asked the price of some woolen goods, and was told two dollars a yard. Said he, 'How is this? Before the war I got this kind of goods for one dollar a yard.' 'Yes,' replied the English merchant, 'such was the price then, but your government has put one dollar a yard duty on this goods, and now we sell for two dollars, and pay one dollar to your

government, and put the other dollar in our own pocket.' The St. Louis merchant crossed the street to an American merchant, who manufactures his own goods in the United States, and asked the price of the same quality of goods, and was told two dollars a yard. He replied, 'How is this? The English merchant sells the same article at the same price, and he pays a duty on his goods.' 'That's so,' said the American merchant; 'the English merchant sets the price, and we sell at his price, and that's where we have the advantage of him. We put the two dollars in our own pocket.'"

If the duty be laid on imported goods of the same kind that are manufactured in this country and sold, the duty goes to the government; but if manufactured in this country and sold, the duty is added to the cost of manufacture, and goes into the pocket of the manufacturer.

To show the inconsistency and injustice to our industries, let us take two of the staple products of our own country, namely, sugar and tobacco. A duty of from two to five cents a pound is laid on sugar, and an internal-revenue tax is laid on tobacco.

Through the manipulation of the markets, capitalists control the price of sugar, and wholesale dealers and refiners receive a profit equal to the duty imposed on all the products of this country, at the expense of the consumers. On the other hand, a tax is laid on the tobacco that is produced

in this country; that goes direct to the government. So we see that in one instance the benefit goes *to* the favored capitalist, in the other it is paid *by* the producer. This discrimination is in favor of a certain class and against another. Even if the sugar-producer got the benefit, the injustice would have been no less; but the government is never guilty of favoring production. Both commodities are produced and imported, and bear the same relation to industry and trade.

It is urged that tariff increases the price of labor and of agricultural products, thus increasing the prosperity of the country.

It may be of interest to the reader to look back and ascertain if protection in the past has done anything in the way of redeeming the promises that have been made in its behalf.

"Unfortunately for purposes of comparison, this country has never enjoyed absolute free trade since the machinery of the Constitution was got into working order. We will have to content ourselves with comparisons between periods of high duties and periods of low duties. If protection possesses the virtue claimed for it by its advocates, every advance in the rate of duty will be found to have been succeeded by, first, an increase in population through immigration; second, a falling off of exports, of farm products; and third, in an increase in the price of the same; and on the other hand, under periods of low duties the opposite of the foregoing results will be found to have succeeded.

"The first tariff act in which the principle of protection cut any figure was passed in 1816. There was an increase in the number of articles taxed, and also an increase of duties made in 1824 and in 1828.

"Let us now see what effect this had on immigration, prices, and exports of farm products:

In 1820 the number of immigrants was						8,385
" 1824 "	"	"	"	"	"	7,912
" 1828 "	"	"	"	"	"	7,382
" 1833 "	"	"	"	"	"	58,640

"Thirteen years of unbroken protection gives an increase of over 80,000, of which 58,640 were in 1833. In this year the compromise tariff went into effect. This act provided for a gradual reduction in the rate of duty until it reached twenty per cent. This period has been erroneously denominated a non-protective period, and is embraced in the years 1833–41.

"As stated above, the number of immigrants which arrived on our shores in 1833 was 58,640. After nine years of lower and regularly diminishing duties, the number of immigrants in 1842 was 104,563. The high tariff in 1842 was followed in 1843 with a *reduction* in the number of immigrants of about 40,000. Three-fourths of the year 1843 brought but 52,496, which would be about 70,000 for the year.

"The Democratic Congress in 1846 gave protection a 'black eye,' and immigrants to the number of 234,968 responded to the change in policy. After four years of 'British free trade,' in 1850, 310,004, increased to 427,833 in 1854, immigrants cast their lot among us.

"Never but once prior to 1880 did the number

of immigrants equal the number that came to us in 1854, namely, 459,803 in 1873. . . . .

"There was no change in the tariff from 1854 to 1856; yet there was a falling off of more than one-half of the number of immigrants in the latter year. Again: there was no change in the rate of duty in the years 1879 and 1880; yet the difference in the number of immigrants arriving in the two years is very great, being 157,862 in 1879, and 457,257 in 1880."

If protection had increased the prosperity of our country and raised the price of farm products, and thus stimulated agriculture, foreign immigration would have responded to the change, but the foregoing exhibit shows that such is not the case. Our author goes on:

"The great consideration with the farmer is the question of price. Fortunately, we have a complete record running back to a time that antedates the memory of the oldest inhabitant. Wheat is the staff of life, and I will take it as a criterion. Prices given are taken from the records of trade:

Wheat in 1825 was worth per bushel	$0.92
" " 1826 " " " "	.94
" " 1827 " " " "	.99
" " 1828 " " " "	1.22
" " 1829 " " " "	1.24
" " 1830 " " " "	1.07
" " 1831 " " " "	1.18½
" " 1832 " " " "	1.26
Average for eight years	1.10½

"Under the compromise tariff—

Wheat in 1833 was worth	$1.19½
" " 1834 " "	1.06
" " 1835 " "	1.21½
" " 1836 " "	1.78
" " 1837 " "	1.77
" " 1838 " "	1.92
" " 1839 " "	1.24½
" " 1840 " "	1.04½
" " 1841 " "	1.18½
" " 1842 " "	1.14
Average for ten years	1.35

Increase of $0.24½ per bushel.

"From 1825 to 1832 was high tariff. The average of wheat per bushel was $1.10½. From 1833 to 1842 was low tariff. The average of wheat per bushel was $1.35. Increase in price during period of low tariff, $0.24½. Second period of protection, 1842–46.

Wheat in 1843 was worth	$0.98½
" " 1844 " "	.97½
" " 1845 " "	1.04
" " 1846 " "	1.08½
Average during high tariff, per bushel	1.02

A reduction during this period, per bushel, $0.33.

"Non-protection, first period, 1847–50.

Wheat in 1847 was worth	$1.36½
" " 1848 " "	1.16½
" " 1849 " "	1.24
" " 1850 " "	1.27½
Average of four years of low duties	1.26

An increase over protection, per bushel, $0.24.

"Second period of low duties, from 1851–54:

Wheat in 1851 was worth	$1.07½
" " 1852 " "	1.10
" " 1853 " "	1.39
" " 1854 " "	2.14
Average for four years of low duties, per bushel	1.44

Another increase of 18 cents per bushel.

"Third period of low duties, from 1855–60.

Wheat in 1855 was worth	$2.43½
" " 1856 " "	1.75
" " 1857 " "	1.67½
" " 1858 " "	1.32½
" " 1859 " "	1.43½
" " 1860 " "	1.50
Average for six years low duties, per bushel	1.69

"Still another increase of 25 cents, and 67 cents more per bushel than the average under the high tariff of 1842.

"After fourteen years of what Mr. Carey styled 'British free trade,' wheat was worth in 1860 $1.50, and averaged for the whole period $1.69 per bushel.

"The table from which I have expounded the foregoing does not give prices since 1860; but I have one giving the price of flour down to 1867, and doubtless I could get data from the reports of the Department of Agriculture down to 1881, but I do not deem it necessary.

In 1854 flour was worth per barrel	$8.44
" 1861 " " " " "	5.29
Average for the years 1854 to 1861	6.47
In 1862 flour was worth per barrel	4.70
" 1863 " " " " "	3.93
" 1867 " " " " "	6.66
Average for seven years, per barrel	4.94

"A reduction under the tariff yet in force of $1.53 per barrel; and yet protectionists have the effrontery to tell us that their swindling device is a good thing for farmers. Choice flour is now worth less than in 1860.

"Here is another table which is a recapitulation of some lengthy ones, and which, for want of space,

I will not enumerate. The following are the averages for the periods:

Period.	Wheat.	Cotton.	Corn.	Rye.	Oats.	Butter.	Cheese.
1825–32....	$1.10½	.10½	.62	.67	.37	.15½	.06¾
1833–42....	1.35½	.12	.57	.84½	.43	.16½	.07½
1843–46....	1.02	.06½	.77½	.68	.34	.11½	.05½
1847–50....	1.26	.09	.68½	.72	.43	.15½	.06½
1850–54....	1.44	.09	.71½	.91½	.47	.17½	.07½
1855–60....	1.69	.10½	.81½	.94	.48½	.19½	.08½

"Special attention is called to this last table. To assist in the matter, the periods of high and low tariff are here given:

High tariff	from 1825 to 1832,	wheat per bushel				$1.10½
Low "	" 1833 to 1842,	"	"	"	...	1.35½
High "	" 1843 to 1846,	"	"	"	...	1.02
Low "	" 1847 to 1850,	"	"	"	...	1.26
Still lower "	1850 to 1854,	"	"	"	...	1.44
British free trade	1855 to 1860,	"	"	"	...	1.69

"I think I have shown how utterly opposed to fact is the statement that protection affords a better price for farm products; and I will now examine the other proposition, that protection builds up a home market.

"If I were to give the exports of farm products for each year, not one reader in fifty would look them all over; so I will confine myself to comparing a few years under the different periods of high and low duties. And let me here remark, that I sometimes fall into the error of speaking of certain periods as non-protective. We have never had non-protective periods, for the reason that Congress has never yet favored a bill that did not afford protection to many industries. Duties under the 'British free trade' tariff average nineteen per cent. The principle of all tariffs

where revenue is not alone the object is protection. They differ only in degree.

In 1850 farm products exported were					$123,875,830
" 1860	"	"	"	"	260,139,925
" 1870	"	"	"	"	391,269,695
" 1880	"	"	"	"	685,867,737

"The same in a different form:

Exports of farm products in 1850, per capita						$5
"	"	"	"	" 1860,	"	"	8
"	"	"	"	" 1870,	"	"	10
"	"	"	"	" 1880,	"	"	13

"The facts set forth in the foregoing tables are worth more than all the theories and sophistries contained in all the books that were ever printed with a view to cajole farmers into supporting the most stupendous and infamous swindle that was ever invented. There are thousands of farmers that firmly believe that protection builds up a home market at better prices, and they do not take the pains to inquire into the basis of their belief. Investigation is all that is necessary to convince any man that protectionist writers are either dishonest or ignorant.

"The facts contained in this article are matters of history, accessible to protectionists as well as free traders; but I have yet to see a single statement touching prices and exports of farm products emanating from protectionist writers. They take for granted that high wages result from protection: in other words, they think that because manufacturers are enabled to make large profits, they will divide with the laborer. Strikes and tramps were unknown under 'British free trade.'"—*William Manning.*

Thus we see that a tariff does not favor immigration, advance the price of farm products, nor create a demand for home consumption. There are several reasons that induce immigration, among which are cheaper homes and better facilities for living.

We are told that a high tariff advances wages, but the facts show the contrary. It enables manufacturers to increase the price of their articles, but that they share the profits with their operatives is in no sense true. Holding absolute control over labor, they give no more than its absolute needs for existence, as the history of labor struggles most amply show.

The following, from the "Saturday Express," well illustrates this point:

"PROTECTION.—THE AVERAGE WAGES OF LABOR LESS THAN A DOLLAR A DAY.

"The 'New York Herald' is not much impressed by the demonstrated value of the present high tariff to laboring men. Referring to the census bureau statistics, in Bulletin No. 302, giving the number of hands employed, the amount of wages paid, and the value of the material used, and the value of all the products for all the establishments of manufacturing industry in each of the States or Territories as returned at the census of 1880, the 'Herald' thus comments:

"'The protectionists having had full swing during the decade under consideration, we look to find, of

course, a most satisfactory and liberal outlay in the way of wages to operatives, as set forth in this document.

"'The average number of hands employed is 2,738,950 in 253,840 establishments; the amount of wages paid is $947,919,674. Dividing one by the other, we find the net average annual wages of our manufacturing operatives to be $346.08—less than a dollar a day. And when it is considered that this includes all those skilled operatives who are paid high wages, it may be imagined that the rank and file are not very well equipped financially for their struggle with life; house-rent, food, clothing, fuel, light—all to be supplied from less than a dollar a day. And it is not to be supposed that this exhibit occurs on account of the employment of women and children; the fact being, that these form only 26 per cent of the whole number of operatives. The figures are:

Males above 16 years	2,025,279
Females " 15 "	351,753
Children and youths	181,918

"'This statement shows that the enormous gratuity which is given every year by the protective tariff to the manufacturers *goes into their own pockets*, while the operatives are ground down TO THE LOWEST POSSIBLE WAGE.

"'As the protective tax comes also out of the pockets of these very operatives, the rascally circle is complete.

"'But this is not the worst of it, for an examination of the census of 1870 makes the following showing: In that year the number of hands employed in the manufactories was 2,053,996, and the amount of wages was $775,584,343, an annual average wage of $374.64, or $31.56 more than in 1880. So that

the poor wages of the laboring man employed in our manufacturing establishments have actually declined in the ten years in the amount of $31.56 each, or more than 8 per cent. While all this leads to the suggestion that while the laboring classes are being humbugged by the manufactures into the belief that all their troubles originate with the capitalists and railroads, they may as well commit to memory two pregnant facts:

"'1. That in the manufacturing establishments the net average wages of the operative is $346.08 per year.

"'2. That even this paltry sum is 8 per cent less than it was in 1870.'"

Both the dominant parties are clamoring for tariff, and to make the thing appear different, the Republicans cry out "protective tariff," while the Democrats want "tariff for revenue only." All tariff is protective, unless confined to articles not produced in the country. The only difference is in the rate. High rate gives proportionate protection and proportionate revenue, if importations are carried on.

"A tariff for protection gives to the manufacturers a monopoly, in some cases so complete as to drive the foreign article from our ports. In such cases, the government receives no revenue, but the manufacturer can make a clear profit of the per cent fixed by the tariff, all of which is eventually paid by the consumer, and for which he receives no consideration. To illustrate this, let us take the duties on blankets for the year 1871, and the quantity im-

ported. The duty on the four classes of blankets was 87, 88, 100, and 109 per cent. respectively. The whole imports for that year amounted to $19,355, and the tariff duties to $17,316. All the residue of blankets purchased during that year were home productions. The manufacturer has only to mark up his price to realize about 100 per cent over the price at which they would have been sold but for the protective tariff.

"Take boots and shoes as another illustration. We imported none in 1871, and of course no revenue was received on these articles in that year; yet the manufacturer had the benefit of a tariff of 35 per cent on each pair sold. If a pair of boots were sold at $8, the protection the wearer paid to the manufacturer was $2.80. The law compels the farmer and laborer to pay that sum as a bounty to the manufacturer

"On cotton goods the consumer pays a duty of from 35 to 63 per cent. For almost every article of clothing worn by man, woman, or child, a duty must be paid. The average is about 45 per cent on the value.

"Prices are nearly uniform for the same classes of goods, whether of foreign or domestic manufacture. On imported articles the tariff is paid to the government; on domestic manufactures the duty is paid to the manufacturer. This system compels the poor man to contribute more than his fair proportion to protect the already rich manufacturer. To illustrate this, let us suppose that A is worth $500,000, and has a family of four to clothe, while B has nothing but his industry and perhaps a small homestead, and a family of eight to support. Both families must be clothed and fed; each must contribute to the manufacturer the same rate of pro-

tection. The man with his half a million of property and family of four will probably purchase as much for his family as the poor man will for his family of eight, each expending say $400. If the duty on the purchase averages only 40 per cent, each pays for the support of the government to protect home manufac ures $160. The sweat and toil of the poor man contributes just as much as the rich man's half-million. Or, suppose A is a man without a family and has great wealth, and B is dependent on a small farm for the support of himself and family. A spends for clothing $200, while B is obliged to expend $400 for clothing for his family. Hence, the labor of the poor man pays twice as much as the capital of the rich man to protect home industry and support the government.

"To illustrate the difference between a revenue by tariff and direct tax, the following instance is given. A has $1,000 assessable property, consisting of a homestead, and working tools, etc., and a family of five to support. A national tax of one half of one per cent on $30,000,000 000 (the assessable property in the United States) would bring an income of $150,000,000. B is worth $500,000 and has a family of five to support. By direct tax, A would pay $5, B would pay $2,500. A revenue by tariff would compel A to pay say on $200 of dutiable articles 40 per cent (the present tariff rate is over 43 per cent), which would be a tax of $80, instead of $5 by direct tax; and B, who would purchase say $400 of dutiable articles, would pay $160 on $500,000, instead of $2,500 which he would pay by direct tax. The injustice is as 80 : 1,000 :: 160 : 500,000. The proportion would be 80 : 1,000 :: 160 : 2,000. B escapes paying tax on $498,000! Thus we see

that a revenue by tariff throws the burden on the wealth-producers, while those who live on their income nearly escape the burden."—*D. C. Cloud in Monopolies and the People.*

If this subject is not understood by the people, capitalists will continue to enrich themselves under the pretense of building up home industries and creating a home market. The truth is, our ports are open to immigration, drawn to this country by the prospect of better means of livelihood and at no expense to capitalists, to compete with an already overcrowded labor market, while the capitalists are protected and enriched by the very class they rob and oppress.

If labor had its own it would need no protection. If the motive powers of nature and the almost unlimited capacity of labor-saving machinery could be utilized for the laborer instead of for the capitalist, with the inexhaustible resources of the country, the people of the United States could compete with the whole world. The tendency of American genius is inventive and practical. This is shown in the manufacture of watches. In Switzerland each piece is made by hand, a necessarily slow and tedious process; while in this country the same work is done by machinery, better and much cheaper; and as a consequence, American watches are finding a market all over the world.

The vast wealth resources of our country and the ability of the people to develop them are beyond computation. Regulation of the industries might be so arranged as to secure a balance in all. With adequate facilities for exchange and transportation, we could furnish manufactured articles at rates that would allow us to export to other countries and compete with them in their own markets. Such stimulus to industry would be almost inconceivable, and under proper restrictions and regulations no tariff, however high, could affect the industrial interests of the people.

The American Samson has been shorn of his strength while asleep, and like his prototype of old his locks are reappearing, and he will seize the pillars of the temple of monopoly, and bring to destruction all his enemies.

It is humiliating to witness the gradual destruction of our commerce by the operation of protective tariff.

"The fact is well known that our carrying trade has passed into the hands of other nations. That vessels can be built more cheaply in foreign ports is well known; as also that American ship-owners build or purchase their ships in Europe, sail under English colors, and use English papers, assigning as a reason therefor their inability to pay the duty upon the materials used in ship-building. So oppressive is this duty, and so damaging has it become to our commerce, that Congress is being urged to

grant subsidies to ship-owners. As a necessary result of this system of protective tariff, the American-built ships cannot carry freight as cheaply as those built in foreign countries, and the producer must be content to have his produce, already taxed to half or two-thirds its value for inland transportation, taxed beyond the amount charged by the vessels of other nations for ocean transportation, or allow the ocean trade to remain as it now is in the hands of England.

"American seamen must abandon the ocean or sail under foreign flags. Protection has destroyed our mercantile navy, and compelled our seamen to seek employment elsewhere and in other occupations. With our vast agricultural wealth, demanding the markets of the world, the protection policy of the government effectually closes our ports to other nations, while the farmer is obliged to accept for his grain the low price that a home market already glutted will afford him."—*Ibid.*

Mr. Julian, who has been quoted in a former chapter, said on the same occasion:

"Our tariff laws for years past, while pretending to favor the laborer, have been framed in the interest of monopolists. The duty on coal, which is a necessity of life, admits of no defense. To tax coal is to tax the poor man's fire, to 'tax the force of the steam-engine, to starve the laborer on whom we depend for work.'

"The duty on leather has increased its cost annually about ten million dollars, while the consumers of boots and shoes have had to pay an increase of some fifteen millions of dollars. The duty on lumber has largely increased its price, and is wholly

paid by the consumer. The duties on wool, salt, and pig-iron impose heavy burdens on the poor, and, like the other duties named, can scarcely be defended, even granting the principle of protection to be sound. This legislative discrimination in favor of the richer and more favored ranks in society, and against the laboring and producing masses, ought to cease. Instead of being loaded down with burdens and exactions for the aggrandizement of the few, they should share the unstinted favor of the government."

Thus the scheme for the aggrandizement of capital, under the pretense of public good, has been one of the most efficient and successful of accomplishments.

It cannot be too often nor too strongly urged upon the mind, the power and obstinacy of preconceived opinion. Pride of opinion has much to do with it. The reason why pertinacity of opinion is so strong with some is because such love of self is stronger than love of justice. Neither can the importance of right-thinking be overestimated.

In regard to the subject under consideration, the accumulation of wealth by levying contributions upon the sources of it, not only the temporal and physical needs of society are seriously disturbed, but the very basis upon which a better system can be built is rapidly getting beyond the reach of the people, and a system founded upon

rule and service will be adjusted upon an immovable and permanent basis. Such a system, by controlling industry and gauging the producer's share to the "minimum at which the supply of labor can be kept up," will be organized into a perfect science, and the vast outlay of wealth will be devoted to the arts of oppression instead of being employed in the building up of a higher civilization.

"The great aggregations of wealth," says Henry George, "are like great trees which strike deep roots and spread wide branches, and which, by sucking up the moisture from the soil, and intercepting the sunshine, stunt and kill the vegetation around them. When capitals of millions of dollars come in competition with capitals of thousands of dollars, the smaller capitalists must be driven out of the business or be destroyed. With great capital, nothing can compete but great capital. Hence, every aggregation of wealth increases the tendency to the aggregation of wealth and decreases the possibility of the employee ever becoming more than an employee; compelling him to compete with his fellows as to who will work cheapest for the great capitalist—a competition that can have but one result: that of forcing wages to the minimum at which the supply of labor can be kept up. Where we are is not so important as in what direction we are going; and in the United States all tendencies are clearly in this direction. A while ago any journeyman shoemaker could set up a business for himself with the savings of a few months, but now the operative shoemaker could not in a lifetime go into business for himself.

"And now that great capital has entered agriculture, it must be with the same results. The large farmer who can buy the latest machinery at the lowest cash prices and use it at to the best advantages; who can run a straight furrow for miles; who can make special rates with railroad companies, take advantage of the market, and sell in large lots for the least commission—must drive out the small farmer of the early American type, just as the shoe factory has driven out the journeyman shoemaker. And this is going on to-day."—*Henry George.*

Observing and reflective minds throughout the country perceive the inevitable consequences of present conditions, and it is only for the people to realize the direction in which they are going to arrest the fatal tendency.

One of the causes of this condition and this inevitable tendency is the operation of our tariff system. At first, the weak and helpless condition of manufacturing industries invited and seemed to demand protection, and it offered such convenient facilities for the collection of revenue that it was not difficult to inaugurate the system.

As a system of revenue it is grossly unjust, because it lays the burden of taxation upon labor instead of on property, and as a system of protection, it protects the wolf instead of the lamb.

"Nature creates the middle classes," says Professor Swing; "the two extremes, being of human origin, are the outgrowth of false and pernicious

systems of political economy, class laws, and special legislation, and one is the inevitable result of the other." This states in general terms the substance of the whole matter, and a prominent feature of "false and pernicious systems of political economy" is a tax laid on imported commodities "to protect home industries and furnish a revenue for the government."

The necessity for raising a revenue to meet the expenditures of the civil war served as an excuse to increase the rate and enlarge the class of articles made dutiable, and now the average *ad valorem* tax is over 43 per cent and the list of articles has swelled to the volume of three thousand. On some of them the rate has reached the point of prohibition of importation. In such cases the home manufacturer marks his price accordingly.

The remedy has already been hinted at. Throw off the restraints on labor, give it the benefits of a true medium of exchange, freedom from land monopoly, a co-operative system in all public enterprises, and man's inventive genius in mechanical invention, and with the vast and inexhaustible resources of potential wealth, the power of foreign competition would no longer serve as an excuse to enrich capital by impoverishing labor, and direct taxation, the only just method of rais-

ing a revenue, would be the source for government expenditures.

Another serious objection to the tariff system is the corruption that springs from the patronage of the government in appointing officers to conduct it. The power and importance of the administration consists in a great measure in the appointment of this service, and the strife for government control itensifies party spirit to such an extent that politicians are enabled to "take captive" the will of the people, and thus perpetuate existing evils.

The enormous expense of collection is another objection. Revenue by direct tax could be collected by the method for the collection of state tax, and along with it, thus saving to the people an army of custom-house officers and others connected with the collection of customs.

It is the business of politicians to mystify by sophistries and half-truths with wrong conclusions. There has been so much said and written on this subject, and so many falsities and theoretical speculations, that it is no difficult matter to keep the agitation up for political purposes. The politician presumes for his strength and success upon the people's ignorance, but is cunning enough not to let them suspect his trick. With a show of giving them credit for much wisdom

and sagacity, he offers them the merest shams and pretenses, and depends on his art and sophistry in palming them off as sound doctrine. To insure success, the politicians itensify and imbitter party spirit to give direction to popular thought, and so prevent the examination and discussion of true principles of government. Thus they make the people's strifes and dissentions their strength.

CHAPTER XVII.

CORPORATIONS.

"Work, work, work;
My labor never flags;
And what are its wages? A bed of straw,
A crust of bread—and rags.
That shattered roof, and this naked floor,
A table, a broken chair;
And a wall so blank my shadow I thank
For sometimes falling there."

"A CORPORATION is a civil institution, or, as it is sometimes termed, 'a body politic,' the essential character of which is that it has a legal existence as a person under the name given it by legislative authority, either by express charter or by prescription which implies a charter."—*American Cyclopedia.*

Corporations for the aggregation and accumulation of wealth are of comparatively modern origin. Recent writers on political economy seem to turn their attention to the consideration of the most effective methods of concentrating wealth and accumulating large capital for the production of wealth as the leading object of government; and corporations are the most efficient instrumentalities for that purpose.

A corporation has a legal existence as a per-

son. While the rights of a person are limited to his natural life, and he is restrained by conscientious considerations and social dependencies, corporations are renewed in their existence, and having no obligations to society, they are free to act solely in the interests for which they are created, therefore relentless in their greed and despotic in their rule.

"The king of England lives forever. He passes through many forms, but he does not die. He is a great conquerer, a great warrior, a vain and arrogant woman, a fop, a libertine, an idiot, a statesman, sage, and soldier, a fierce and cruel tyrant, a stupid beer-drinker, a sober matron; but all the time king.

"So a corporation lives forever. It is even worse than a king, for it has no human feeling or emotion. Its motive power is profit, and its only inspiration is avarice. The corporation is a greater menace than noble or king."

It is a law of nature that the greater attracts the less. All bodies attract directly in proportion to their quantity of matter. The principle holds good in political economy. A number of natural persons, having their natural rights recognized by law, associate into a body politic for some financial or industrial enterprise, combine their capital, and become a power much greater than their dissociate powers, which, however, remain intact.

A corporation, having been formed for a special purpose, is bound to its accomplishment; for that, it exists. A power is created *by law*, vesting in individuals rights in addition to their natural rights. Here is a disturbance of political equilibrium, and the whole fabric is affected. These combine, and thus the power of vested rights gains the ascendency, and a few control the many. Sometimes a single individual becomes a "body politic," having previously associated himself with others and gained a foothold by indomitable energy and deep forethought, outstripes his fellows in the race and gains a supreme control. How nearly this condition of things is reached may be seen in the person of Jay Gould. Another instance is William Vanderbilt, who within the year has accumulated $20,000,000.

The fact that not one cent of this vast sum was earned or produced by him will assist in realizing the gross outrage this is upon labor, and how destructive to a free government such a vast power becomes.

It is a general opinion that corporations are necessary for carrying on great enterprises requiring immense outlay of capital. It must be remembered that in public enterprises all are equally interested, and a fund should be furnished

from the public treasury to carry on these enterprises, and conducted by the respective jurisdictions for which they were intended; then all would be equal recipients in its benefits.

Thus a highway or bridge, the improvement of a navigable stream, a canal or the building of a railway or telegraph line, should be carried on for the benefit of the township, county, state, or general government, according to the convenience and requirements of each.

The canal system of the State of New York affords demonstrable proof of the practicability of state corporations.

"De Witt Clinton broke with his own hand the ground in the beginning of the enterprise (the Erie Canal), July 4, 1817; and overcoming constant, unremitting, and factious resistance, he had the felicity of being borne, in October, 1825, in a barge on the artificial river which he seemed to all to have constructed from Lake Erie to the bay of New York, while bells were ringing and cannons saluted him at every stage of the imposing progress. No sooner had that great work been undertaken, in 1817, than the population of the State began to swell with augmentation from other States and from abroad; prosperity became universal; old towns and cities expanded, and new cities rose and multiplied; agriculture, manufacture, and commerce quickened in their movements, and wealth flowed in upon the State from all directions."—*American Cyclopedia.*

The New York State canals have an aggregate length of 886 miles.

"The gross earnings of these canals for the four years from September 30, 1860, to 1864 was $17,722,384. After paying the expenses of superintendence and ordinary repairs for the same period, the net balance of surplus revenue was $14,442,408." —*Ibid.*

This is an income to the State of $3,610,602 a year, and shows how much could be saved to the people if the government conducted all public enterprises.

"De Witt Clinton had the good fortune to mature the system of finance which enabled the State, *unconscious of expense or care*, to begin and carry out his policy of internal improvement."—*American Cyclopedia.*

How much of wise political economy is expressed in this brief statement! The rapid increase of population, the universal prosperity, the multiplicity of towns and cities, the quickening of industries and the increase of wealth, the wisdom and efficiency of their management, and the financial measures, "unconscious of expense or care," in this vast and magnificent enterprise carried on by a State corporation. Why do not other statesmen arise and put into practice what is here so clearly demonstated? Corporate greed rules the nation, and a score of De Witt

Clintons, working in unison and with most persistent energy, could do nothing should they attempt in opposition to corporations. This greedy monster must be throttled, his power crushed out, and EQUALITY OF RIGHTS established before liberty can be restored.

Our postal system is another instance in which an extensive and complicated enterprise is carried on. Our educational system and military service are other proofs of the ability for public enterprises on a vast scale to be conducted by the government.

In all enterprises of a private character, no one has a right to appropriate more legal power than another, because the rights of all are equal; and to vest special power in some ignores the principles upon which our independence was won and renders a free government impossible.

"We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created EQUAL." There can be no equality where one citizen is vested with legal power to do what another is forbidden to do. The objector may urge that all have a right to incorporate. If for private purposes, then no one would be the gainer. The quality of corporate power consists in giving to the incorporators an advantage over others, for if nothing is gained, there is no object in incorporating.

A receives a charter authorizing him to erect a bridge, and guarantees that no other bridge shall be built within three miles of it on the same stream. Why is this special privilege given to A? It is said to induce him to build the bridge, and a maximum toll is prescribed to protect the public from extortion. His charter grants him a power; otherwise, why the restraint?

This is the simplest case in which a corporation can exist, and yet it is an injustice. Within twenty-five years, corporations have extended to all enterprises where capital can be best invested and industry monopolized.

"The best lawyers, the best inventors, the best business men, are all on the pay-roll of the monopolists. The corporations have not only monopolized the means of producing wealth, but they are even forcing a 'corner' in brains. In attracting to themselves the service of the most active and vigorous intellects and strongest wills, the confederate monopolies are doubly intrenched. The past history of the world gives no record of any system of oppression so insidious, so strong, and so all-pervading as that of the predatory corporations which are absorbing the substance and undermining the liberties of the American people."

They are the machinery by which the robbery of the people is accomplished. Banking corporations control the currency of the nation, a power

incalculable and inconceivable. The volume and stability or instability of the circulating medium directly affects the price of commodities; it determines the rate of interest by which millions are taken from labor to enrich corporations.

Had the men who were instrumental in the creation of these banking corporations been conscientious, there would have been some palliation and some hope that they would relinquish their power when they were convinced of the wrong; but when we know that they are thoroughly familiar with the results and aimed to bring them about, we can feel nothing but execration for the crimes they are committing. They know the effects of contraction and expansion of the currency. They must therefore be declared guilty of deliberate intent to rob the nation of billions of dollars, with the full knowledge that it would drive multitudes to bankruptcy and ruin. To sanction this diabolical scheme by legalizing it only adds to its perfidy by investing it with the authority of the government. And these men are honored and trusted, and permitted to continue to control the currency and rule prices.

"The people sleep in ignorance, or such a thing could not be possible. When they awake, God have mercy on their oppressors, for they will not."
—*Leo Miller.*

It is by corporations that transportation is carried on. Combinations are effected, and, with the exception of the canal system above noted, the entire carrying trade is monopolized; discriminations are made, the people are insulted and robbed and placed at their mercy. Although demanding a paying rate on an enormous outlay of capital (watered stock), yet they refuse to pay taxes on an assessment of one-fourth of the value of their roads, to say nothing of the immense subsidies granted to them by the government.

And now ex-Senator Conkling, in defending a corporation that refused to pay its taxes and appealed the case to the United States Supreme Court, declares it to all intents and purposes a *person* in law, and as such is to be protected by the provisions of the Federal Constitution, amended Article XIV. Sec. 1, under the following clause: "Nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law, nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws"; thus making a corporation the agent of an outrageous robbery, and the United States Constitution the authority for it.

Vast aggregations of capital in manufacturing enterprises are effected by corporations which exercise their power in securing the protection

of the government in laying high duties on imported commodities, and thus imposing a heavy and unjust burden on labor.

The lines of communication for intelligence are controlled by corporations. The advantage of this control is of incalculable value. The state of the market, both foreign and domestic, the fluctuations in the stock market, the schemes and manipulations in political transactions, and shaping intelligence for the press cannot be overestimated; to say nothing of the immense revenues derived from it.

Corporations for insurance business and stock operations, mining associations, in trade, and even in agriculture, organize their forces and carry on their operations to control labor. They are conspiracies against labor that seek to appropriate its fruits and enslave the toiler; they are usurpations of natural rights, inspired by greed and for self-aggrandizement. In other countries, rights, privileges, and powers are recognized as hereditary; in this they are secured by legal enactments. In other countries, class distinctions of rich and poor, of high and low, bond and free, are supported by heredity; in this they are established *by law*. While they increase with unexampled rapidity, there is neither time nor opportunity for culture, and indeed, no inclina-

tion for it; in other countries the aristocracy support their distinction by superior intelligence and culture, and that class possess genuine merit; but our "aristocracy," founded on wealth, are characterized by arrogance, presumption, greed, tyranny, and aping the style and manners of foreign aristocracy, with all their vices, but without their virtues.

Wealth, combined and employed as capital, possesses vastly more power than if employed in separate enterprises. Let twenty men with $5,000 each associate their capital, or let them employ it separately. Suppose it to be for the manufactuae of woolen goods. The grounds, sites, and buildings would be important items in the estimate, and would be a saving in a combined capital of more than half in them. The purchase of machinery for a single establishment with a capital of $100,000 would be much more advantageous and economical than for twenty manufactories of $5,000 each; the number of operatives, overseers, and skilled laborers would be proportionally less in one large establishment, the advantages of the purchase of stock and the sale of goods would also correspond. Taking all these advantages in favor of large establishments—for the difference is not gain—we find them to be greatly in favor of large

capital. Any business enlarged is proportionately more profitable. If a farmer should divide his farm and carry on two distinct operations, with two sets of buildings, the necessary additional fencing implements, and the added care of mangement, he would see the benefit of combination. Corporations secure all these advantages by the creation of a separate "person" in law, exercising the rights and prerogatives of an individual, with full power to push his enterprises without restraint of conscience, social dependence, or responsibility. These legal robbers associate, conspire, and confederate, being organized for the sole purpose of gain, and free from all obligations to society, they build up in few hands immense power to prey upon the people and rob them of the natural rights—nay, worse: through the machinery of government they compel the people to carry on these outrages against themselves!

There is one class of citizens—the wage-earners—who seem to be, by their poverty and utter dependence on corporate capital, hopelessly lost. They have gone over "to the bleak barrens and ice-walled shores of the frozen zone of poverty." The millions they create serve to perpetuate their poverty, and the ballots they hold have placed them in the condition of slavery, and continue to hold them there. Poverty is the

greatest foe to morality and intelligence. It dulls the finer sensibilities, and takes away all aspiration for anything manlike and noble; and by constant and daily contact with physical forces, blunts and hardens the whole being. Wearied and worn with toil, one seeks rest and sleep, only to awaken to renewed toil and weariness. No time, no means, no opportunity, and finally no desire for intellectual and moral culture, and as the "weary plowman plods his way," so plod the weary toilers, victims to the greed and tyranny of corporate power.

Professor Carey says: "Under the established systems, the middle classes tend to pass away, and its condition is well expressed by the term, 'the uneasy class.' There is a permanent strife for life, and man endeavoring to snatch the bread from his neighbor's mouth." The wage-earner may be consigned to the category of slavery, the "middle class" are on their way, and no remedy now prescribed, no powers now invoked, will stay them from the same fate. Instead of there being anything to prevent the enslavement of the laborer, there is everything to facilitate it. The government is the agency employed by corporations, and the law the instrumentality by which millionaires and paupers are made.

What does suffrage amount to when votes can

be bought at a mere nominal price on election day, or dictated by fear of starvation? It serves to add to the political power of wealth, and the establishment of tyranny.

In spite of all the precautions of the people of California to guard and protect their liberties by constitutional enactment, the insidious power of corporations crept in and intrenched itself in its provisions. The artful framers set out with a "Declaration of Rights" in the following language:

"All men are by nature free and independent, and have certain inalienable rights, among which are those of enjoying and defending life and liberty; acquiring, possessing, and protecting property, and pursuing and obtaining safety and happiness.

"All political power is in the people. Government is instituted for the protection, security, and benefit of the people, and they have the right to alter or reform the same whenever the public good may require it."

In section 4, article 12, we find the following definition of "corporation":

"The term 'corporations' as used in this article shall be construed to include all associations and joint-stock companies having any of the powers or privileges of corporations *not possessed by individuals or partnerships;* and all corporations shall have the right to sue and be sued in all courts in like cases as natural persons."

The new Constitution of California declares, "All men are by nature free and independent, and have certain inalienable rights"; and then in art. 12, sec. 4, it proceeds to alienate them by declaring corporations "to include all associations . . . . having any of the powers or privileges of corporations *not possessed by individuals*." Here we have a declaration of personal rights, and a provision in the same instrument conferring "powers and privileges" on corporations "not possessed by individuals and partnerships."

The aim and intent of corporate power is the aggrandizement of the few by the accumulation of wealth. The productive power evoked from heat and electricity applied to mechanical invention has increased the means for creating wealth a hundred-fold, and by means of corporations this power is utilized in the hands of the few. Hence, it is impossible to maintain political equality, without which a republic cannot exist.

In all cases the tendency of advancing civilization is the increase of power of producing wealth to meet the increasing needs advancing civilization creates. Every power that increases the production of wealth is monopolized by corporations by virtue of aggregated capital and the exercise of vested "rights." The laborer has no more interest in the production of wealth than

the Cuban slave, and is reduced to wages upon which all his interests concentrate.

Thus robbed of all the benefits of productive power, labor is reduced to utter dependence on those who exercise it; machinery takes the place of manual labor, and the capitalist owns the one and controls the other. This control is by the agency of corporations; therefore corporations are the enemies of republicanism, and the two cannot co-exist in the same government. By corporations, in the midst of wealth poverty exists, political equality is destroyed, and society separated into ever-receding divisions of proud and haughty snobs and poor and humble slaves. Corporations serve the purpose of a huge wedge, driven not under society as a whole to lift it up, but in the midst of it, forcing one part up and the other down, and destroying the equality; and thus the lower stratum loses the essential qualities of manhood and becomes a slave, a machine, a commodity in character and destiny.

The question may arise in the present condition of society, How can the vast enterprises for the production of wealth be carried on without corporations? Even the manufacture of a pin requires a capital expressed by scores of thousands, and so great is the division of labor that individual enterprise seems out of the question.

Co-operation is the answer. Let the producer have an equitable interest in the outcome of the enterprise. The experience of the Rochdale enterprise in England, and others of still greater magnitude, not only demonstrate the practicability of co-operation, but the fact that it has gone into practical operation. The reader is referred to Mr. Holyoke's works.

In individual enterprises, all are entitled to an equal opportunity to acquire the means of life, and the combination of capital for the advantages it gives should be shared by all in proportion to their contribution in labor or capital. We must not lose sight of the fact that people have something else to do besides "making money." The production of wealth as an *end* is vitiating and degrading. Wealth is only the preliminary condition, the means to an end—the development and culture, the harmonization and refinement, the vigor and power of all the attributes of man, the happiness of the individual in the welfare of the whole.

In regard to public enterprises and the ability of the people to operate them by government agency, let the canal system of New York, that brings annually a net income of millions to the State, be the answer. Our postal system, with its vast ramifications and its complicated opera-

tions, is so familiar that it is overlooked. So necessary has it become that all enterprises, public and private, would be so crippled that business would soon cease.

The difference between what is and what would be if all the appliances man is capable of bringing to bear on the welfare of society, is inconceivable. Not without too much elaboration, is it possible to notice some of the benefits that would accrue from the relegation of the powers and privileges of private corporations to those of a public character. The people would demand a volume of currency equal to the demand of trade and industry; then time-transactions of debts and credits would no longer exist. This in itself would bring about a change in public affairs more marked than one in a thousand can conceive. It would overthrow the credit system, by which so many billions of dollars are taken from labor. A vast army of lawyers who now flourish and fatten would be compelled to look elsewhere for support. A multitude of jurors and witnesses would be released from service. An immense and complicated system of government machinery would be dispensed with, and justice would be meted out to the people. All public service would be done at a reasonable cost, and wealth would flow in to the producer,

who would have the time, opportunity, means, and disposition to apply it to the highest and best uses. The time for labor would be abridged, and the curse of poverty, like a darkening mist, would disappear before the light of a higher intelligence. The social forces that now are expended in strife and contention would be employed in building up, refining, and harmonizing the social fabric.

The following clear and forcible presentation is from the pen of Henry George, author of "Progress and Poverty":

"The growth of morality consequent upon the cessation of want would tend to a like diminution in other civil business of the courts, which could be hastened by the adoption of the common-sense proposition of Bentham to abolish all laws for the collection of debts and the enforcement of private contracts. The rise of wages, the opening of opportunities for all to make an easy and comfortable living, would at once lessen, and would soon eliminate from society the thieves, swindlers, and other classes of criminals, who spring from the unequal distribution of wealth. Thus the administration of the criminal law, with all its paraphernalia of policemen, detectives, prisons, and penitentiaries, would, like the administration of the civil law, cease to make such a drain upon the vital force and attention of society. We should get rid, not only of many judges, bailiffs, clerks, and prison-keepers, but of the great host of lawyers who are now maintained at the expense of producers; and talent now

wasted in legal subtleties would be turned to higher pursuits.

"The legislative, judicial, and executive functions of government would in this way be vastly simplified; nor can I think that the public debts and the standing armies, which are historically the outgrowth of the change from feudal to allodial tenures, would long remain after the reversion to the old idea that the land of a country is the common right of the people of the conntry. . . . .

"Society would thus approach the ideal of Jeffersonian democracy, the promised land of Herbert Spencer, the abolition of government; but of government only as a directing and repressive power. It would at the same time and in the same degree become possible for it to realize the dream of socialism. All this simplification and abrogation of the present functions of government would make possible the assumption of certain other functions which are now pressing for recognition.

"Government could take upon itself the transmission of messages by telegraph as well as by mail, of building and operating railroads as well as of opening and maintaining common roads. With present functions so simplified and reduced, functions such as could be assumed without danger or strain, and would be under the supervision of public attention, which is now distracted. . . . .

"We might not establish public tables—they would be unnecessary; but we could establish public baths, museums, libraries, gardens, lecture-rooms, music and dancing halls, theaters, universities, technical schools, shooting galleries, play-grounds, gymnasiums, etc.

"Heat, light, and motive power, as well as water, might be conducted through our streets at public

expense; our roads be lined with fruit trees, discoverers and inventors rewarded, scientific investigations supported, and in a thousand ways the public revenues made to foster efforts for the public benefit.

"We should reach the ideal of the socialist, but not through government repression. Government would change its character, and would become the administration of a great co-operative society. It would become merely the agency by which the common property was administered for the common benefit.

"Does this seem impracticable? Consider for a moment the vast changes that would be wrought in social life by a change which would assure to labor its full reward; which would banish want and the fear of want, and give to the humblest freedom to develop in natural symmetry.

"In thinking of the possibilities of social organization, we are apt to assume that greed is the strongest of human motives, and that systems of administration can only be safely based upon the idea that the fear of punishment is necessary to keep men honest, that selfish interests are always stronger than general interests. Nothing could be farther from the truth.

"From whence springs this lust for gain, to gratify which men tread everything pure and noble under their feet; to which they sacrifice all the higher possibilities of life; which converts civility into a hollow pretense, patriotism into a sham, and religion into hyprocrisy; which makes so much of civilized existence an Ishmaelitish warfare, of which the weapons are cunning and fraud?

"Does it not spring from the existence of want? . . . . Poverty is the open-mouthed, relentless

hell, which yawns beneath civilized society. And it is hell enough. . . . . For poverty is not merely deprivation: it means shame, degradation, the searing of the most sensitive parts of our moral and mental nature as with hot irons; the denial of the strongest impulses and the sweetest affections; the wrenching of the most vital nerves.

"You love your wife, you love your children; but would it not be easier to see them die than to see them reduced to the pinch of want, in which large classes in every highly civilized community live? The strongest of animal passions is that with which we cling to life; but it is an every-day occurrence in civilized societies for men to put poison to their mouths or pistols to their heads from fear of poverty; and for one who does this there are probably a hundred who have the desire, but are restrained by instinctive shrinking, by religious considerations, or by family ties.

"From this hell of poverty it is but natural that men should make every effort to escape. With the impulse to self-preservation and self-gratification combine nobler feelings, and love as well as fear urges in the struggle. Many a man does a mean thing, a dishonest thing, a greedy and a grasping and unjust thing, in the effort to place above want or the fear of want mother or wife or children. . . . .

"How sweet to the storm-stricken seems the safe harbor, food to the hungry, drink to the thirsty, warmth to the shivering, rest to the weary, power to the weak, knowledge to him in whom the intellectual yearnings of the soul have been aroused!

"And thus the sting of want and the fear of want make men admire above all things the possession of riches, and to become wealthy is to become respected and admired and influential. Get money—

honestly if you can, but at any rate, get money. This is the lesson that society is daily and hourly dinning in the ears of its members. Men instinctively admire virtue and truth, but the sting of want and the fear of want make them even more strongly admire the rich and sympathize with the fortunate. It is well to be honest and just, and men will commend it; but he who by fraud and injustice gets him a million dollars will have more respect and admiration and influence, more eye-service and lip-service, if not heart-service, than he who refuses it. . . . .

"Whatever is potent for evil may be made potent for good. The change I have proposed would destroy the conditions that distort impulses in themselves beneficent, and would transmute the forces that now tend to disintegrate society into forces which would tend to unite and purify it.

"Give labor a free field and its full earnings, take for the benefit of the whole community that fund which the growth of the community creates, and want and the fear of want would be gone. The springs of production would be set free, and the enormous increase of wealth would give the poorest ample comfort. Men would no more worry about finding employment than they worry about finding air to breathe; they need have no more care about physical necessities than do the lilies of the field. The progress of science, the march of invention, the diffusion of knowledge, would bring their benefits to all.

"With this abolition of want and the fear of want, the admiration of riches would decay, and men would seek the respect and approbation of their fellows in other modes than by the acquisition and display of wealth. In this way there would be brought to the

management of public affairs and the administration of common funds the skill, the attention, the fidelity and integrity that can now only be secured for private interests; and a railroad or gas-works might be operated on public account, not only more economically and efficiently than as at present under joint-stock management, but as economically and efficiently as would be possible under a single ownership. . . . .

"There are people into whose heads it never enters to conceive of any better state of society than that which now exists; who imagine that the idea that there could be a state of society in which greed would be banished, prisons stand empty, individual interests be subordinated to general interests, and no one seek to rob or to oppress his neighbor, is but the dream of impracticable dreamers, for whom these practical, level-headed men who pride themselves on recognizing facts as they are have a hearty contempt. But such men—though some of them write books, and some of them occupy the chairs of universities, and some of them stand in the pulpit—do not think. If they were accustomed to dine in such eating-houses as are to be found in the lower quarters of London and Paris, where the knives and forks are chained to the table, they would deem it the natural, ineradicable disposition of man to carry off the knife and fork with which he has eaten.

"Take a company of well-bred men and women dining together: there is no struggling for food, no attempt on the part of any one to get more than his neighbor, no attempt to gorge or carry off. On the contrary, each one is anxious to help his neighbor before he partakes himself; to offer to others the best, rather than pick it out for himself; and should

any one show the slightest disposition to prefer the gratification of his own appetite to that of the others, or in any way to act the pig or pilferer, the swift and heavy penalty of social contempt and ostracism would show how such conduct is reprobated by common opinion. All this is so common as to excite no remark; as to seem the natural state of things: yet it is no more natural that men should not be greedy of food than that they should not be greedy of wealth. They *are* greedy of food when they are not assured that there will be a fair and equitable distribution which will give to each enough. But when these conditions are assured, they cease to be greedy of food. And so in society as at present constituted: men are greedy of wealth because the conditions of distribution are so unjust that instead of each being sure of enough, many are certain to be condemned to want. It is 'the Devil catch the hindmost' of present social adjustment that causes the race and scramble for wealth, in which all considerations of justice, mercy, religion, and sentiment are trampled under foot; in which men forget their own souls, and struggle to the very verge of the grave for what they cannot take beyond. But an equitable distribution of wealth, that would exempt all from the fear of want, would destroy the greed of wealth, just as in polite society the greed of food has been destroyed. . . . .

"But it may be said, to banish want and the fear of want would be to destroy the stimulus to exertion; men would become simply idlers, and such a happy state of general comfort and content would be the death of progress. This is the old slaveholders' argument—that men can only be driven to labor with the lash. Nothing is more untrue.

Want might be banished, but desire would remain. Man is the unsatisfied animal. He has but begun to explore, and the universe lies before him. Each step that he takes opens new vistas and kindles new desires. He is the constructive animal; he builds, he improves, he invents, and puts together; and the greater the thing he does, the greater the thing he wants to do. He is more than an animal. Whatever be the intelligence that breathes through nature, it is in that likeness that man is made. The steamship driven by her throbbing engines through the seas is in kind, though not in degree, as much a creation as the whale that swims beneath. The telescope and the microscope—what are they but added eyes which man has made for himself? The soft webs and fair colors in which our women array themselves—do they not answer to the plumage that nature gives the bird? Man must be doing something, or fancy that he is doing something; for in him throbs creative impulse; the mere basker in the sunshine is not a natural but an abnormal man."—(pp. 408–419.)

We could not forbear this long quotation from Mr. George's book. It is so applicable to our case, and so vivid in description of the present and prospective condition of man! The objection that to banish want and the fear of want would destroy the stimulus for exertion is farther answered by stating the fact that many of the most brilliant and active minds have been of those who were placed beyond want. In fact, the freer from this dread incubus, the stronger is the impulse

to higher and nobler modes of life. The present disparity of social conditions—the struggle with poverty on the one hand and the inordinate and unjust accumulation of wealth on the other—tends to destroy those higher aspirations that better conditions would prompt. Avarice is the inspiring genius; it corrupts the social fountain; it turns the channel of thought and feeling from the higher impulses that are slumbering in the soul.

In our government, corporations are the means by which these conditions of extreme wealth and extreme poverty exist—conditions fatal to the prosperity and happiness of the people. The fear of want that characterizes the "uneasy class"—those occupying a middle ground but with a downward tendency—disqualifies them for better impulses and higher aspirations.

Corporations for individual aggrandizement must give way to co-operative enterprises; and measures for the public good must be carried on for the equal benefit of all. Justice is thus made possible, and equality established—conditions absolutely essential to a true republic.

CHAPTER XVIII.

QUALIFICATION FOR CITIZENSHIP.

"A weapon that comes down so still
As snow-flakes fall upon the sod,
But executes a freeman's will,
As lightning does the will of God;
And from its force nor doors nor locks
Can shield you: 'tis the ballot-box."

RIGHTS enjoyed imply duties to be performed. Such are the demands of life. The balance of privilege and responsibility, of service and reward, is the constant requirement of justice.

The eventful march of human progress carries along with it the service to be rendered as well as the privileges to be enjoyed; the one is as essential as the other is valuable.

Among the most important duties the citizens of a republic are required to perform are:

1. Acquiring the necessary qualification. A clear conception of the principles upon which a free government is founded, the relations its citizens hold to it and to each other, are the first considerations.

Experience as well as reason demonstrates the fact that due qualification for any work is a necessity; but in matters of government this

seems to be overlooked. Reliance upon authority and blind confidence in those who are in the exercise of it, intensified by political bias and party zeal, without the "eternal vigilance" so earnestly recommended by that great apostle of human liberty, Thomas Jefferson, are fatal defects in the qualification for citizenship. Taking advantage of these, designing and ambitious men, selected not for their qualification but for their availability, are thrust upon the people—not chosen by them—to carry out the schemes for securing wealth and dominion. It is clearly the duty of citizens to protect themselves from such imposition; therefore, such a system of education as will develop a knowledge of the principles of a true republic is the pressing and imperative requirement.

Whatever the character of the government may be, the governed must abide by it; and the question here is, What shall be the character of the governed? For in a republic they are the governors. This is so evident that it requires nothing but the bare statement to bring it home to every intelligent mind. Are they self-reliant, and sufficiently independent of political tricksters; of the influence of party "fealty"; of the tyranny of capital; free from the debasing influences of vice? It is the aim and plan of the politicians

and their masters to mystify, to distract and weaken, to demoralize, to create distrust and destroy confidence. The ignorant man is the weak man. He is the most easily led to believe he is wise, and therefore the most easily hoodwinked. His prejudices are aroused; he imagines them to be sound principles; party spirit is awakened forthwith; in his estimation he becomes a patriot. He mistakes sophistry for reason, and vehement declamation for profound wisdom. He is alike the sport and the victim of political jugglery. No one is capable of being deceived, but there stands ready a deceiver; no one in a condition to be robbed, but there stands ready a robber.

Jefferson's test of the qualification for office is equally applicable to the citizen: "Is he capable? Is he honest?" The science of political economy should be regularly and thoroughly taught; not the theories found in the writings of the subjects of kings, and servilely imitated by writers who profess to live under a republican government; into whose heads the idea of the true source of power never enters; who take for granted the complicated and mystified theories of English finance, the oppressive and wicked system of land tenures, and thus establishing and firmly rooting the idea of the justice of land monopoly, a dual

legislative system to serve the interests of the "upper" class, and a judiciary system relegating the administration of justice to a class of special experts, thus creating not only a vast source of income, but the greater evil of the exercise of political power—evils fastened upon the people by foreign political economists and jurists.

The *structure* of republican government is essentially different from that of monarchical; as different as the source of power is different, which requires as much difference in principle as there is in source of power; and an attempt to teach republicanism on monarchical principles is as futile as the attempt to teach morals by the code of the highwayman.

There can be no proposition plainer than to be able to do anything successfully there must be a qualification for the work. The true principles of a republican government have never yet come to the public mind, much less been systematically taught. Every citizen should master them—*must* master them; not the mass of rubbish found in the musty tomes of English jurisprudence and political economy, but the principles of justice in the recognition of the equality of natural rights and their benefits to be enjoyed by all; the just and equal distribution of wealth by which each producer may hold and enjoy his own; the meth-

ods of building, equipping, and operating lines of travel, transportation, and intelligence upon a system of actual cost; a method for the administration of justice by ready and simple means, and by which emancipation from the control of lawyers and judges, who now operate by the complicated intricacies of theories that have been accumulating for ages.

The elements necessary to be understood are not complicated and massive beyond the comprehension of ordinary capacity when developed; otherwise, there is no possibility of self-government: in which case, here ends the whole matter.

The truth is, we are and have been under the tuition of English political economists and jurists, who have fastened their systems upon us, and, as like causes produce like effects, our political and industrial condition resembles that of its prototype as nearly as modifying influences will allow.

2. An appreciation of the natural rights upon which a true republic is founded.

Experience and observation show the indifference of the people under the present system of government to an appreciation of the priceless value of the natural rights endowed upon them by their Creator.

After a hundred years of failure to secure their

just exercise, is it any wonder that the people are discouraged, demoralized? Under the false and pernicious system of competitive industry, where every man's hand is against his neighbor's, where want and poverty, and the suffering and disgrace attending them, have been so long in operation, is it any wonder that greed and avarice have become the ruling forces of society? The appreciation of justice and the idea of its rule in the affairs of life are not looked for in this age of greed and selfishness. Justice is the equilibrium of values, and its blessings are realized just in proportion to the general intelligence and virtue of the people; and a government is good just in proportion to the degree of justice exercised in it. Selfishness is the great antagonist of justice, and governments are the instrumentalities for the exercise of the one, in despotism and slavery by the ignorance and moral obliquity of the governed, or in liberty, equality, and happiness by the intelligence and virtue of the governed.

Truth is the torch that lights to the domain of justice; error always leads astray into the despotism of selfishness. Truth is the child of knowledge; error, that of ignorance. "He whom the truth makes free is free indeed," and in the enjoyment of its innumerable blessings; but he who flounders in the sea of error is carried on its

darksome waves into the domain of poverty, degradation, misery, and ruin.

Intelligence comes to us only by hard and persistent effort, and well it is that it does, or we would sink into intellectual and moral inanition. The effort required to develop the intellectual and moral powers yields a double blessing; with the developement by acquisition comes the capacity for gratification that activity affords.

The legitimate pursuit of all thought is truth; the inevitable result of ignorance is error. Truth builds up and preserves, and carries us upward and onward to illimitable heights of grandeur and glory; error arrests and turns us backward into barrenness and gloom: the one gives light and joy, the other darkness and misery. Truth comes as the fruit of effort and industry; error of ignorance and misguided zeal: the one is the spirit of right, the other the ghost of wrong. The inseparable companion of truth is love; that of error is passion. In a political sense, error is terrible to contemplate. Its offspring are hate, intolerance, pride, egotism, bigotry, superstition, greed, oppression. It gave the poison to Socrates; it nailed the gentle Nazarene upon the cross; it imprisoned Copernicus; it manacled the hands of Galileo, and laid the injunction of silence upon his lips for uttering a

great and immortal truth; it murdered the innocent victims of alleged witchcraft; it decapitated Charles I. of England, and then tore open the grave of his destroyer, Cromwell, snatched his body from it, hung it upon a gibbet, and then quartered it. It has immolated the sons and daughters of liberty upon its altar, and covered the seat of justice with the robes of iniquity. It antagonizes freedom and destroys human happiness. It is strongly intrenched in the citadel of human affection, and is the main reliance of tyrants. Liberty cannot exist where error reigns.

With keen moral perceptions and appreciation of justice, with natural rights weighed and scaled up to their full value, the fruits of ignorance and error—poverty, slavery, depravity, crime, and misery—would not, could not, exist. We now suffer and tolerate these evils: ought not this to arouse us to the fact that moral appreciation is not up to the point requisite for individual freedom and happiness, the true aim of popular government? Ignorance and vice are inseparable in the administration of government. Ignorance converts liberty into license, and vice panders to the lowest passions. Ignorance tolerates wrong because it cannot comprehend right, vice supports it because it ministers to sensuality. "We must educate! We must educate! Or

else we perish!" said an American writer years ago. The truth of this is so apparent that it needs no statement. The rapid creation of wealth, without the corresponding moral culture, gives impetus and force to the rule of passion; the control of this increased wealth by a few, without due qualification in the many, must be disastrous to the rule of justice and the reign of liberty.

Intelligence and virtue are inseparable. We do not appreciate our rights because we do not understand them. Who is able to measure the value, the resources, or compass the limits of power that slumber in the human soul? "The human mind," says a living writer, "is the repository of infinite possibilities." Accustomed to toil and to the cruel reign of greed and unhallowed ambition, these having never been duly developed, cannot be duly appreciated.

The energy of the toiler has been expended in the struggle with poverty, and the incessant haunting of the fear of want, and the forebodings of misery that follow in its train have prevented the higher and nobler attributes of the soul from being called out.

Environments create conditions. Because we have so often seen the suffering and torture of anxiety proceeding from poverty, and know not

how soon we may become its victims, we have grown cautious and selfish. Everthing that touches our pecuniary interests render us extremely solicitous. We give an intellectual assent to the statements of history and the deductions of science, for the simple reason that they do not perceptibly affect our pockets.

So far as they are concerned, the nebula hypothesis of La Place may be true or not, and the results of the ever-busy workers in elaborating and formulating scientific data are alike indifferent to us, because we see no direct relation between them and our purses. So we do not perceive the intimate relations between and the direct dependence on all that makes life dear and valuable, a just and true government, and the welfare and happiness of the people.

We are ready enough to resist the evils that reach our doors, without an appreciation or even a laudable effort to grasp and comprehend the cause. We overlook the gigantic wrong and try to grapple with its effects. Unless we clearly perceive the underlying cause of the evils from which we suffer, we will never make an effort to remove it. That cause lies in an unjustly constituted government, wherein usurped rights, not natural rights, are the foundation. The ability to comprehend that wrong basis and fully

appreciate the right one are indespensable qualifications in the citizens of a republic. Justice is its constructive principle, liberty its temple, equality its condition, and the free exercise of all the natural rights its aim and consummation.

The power to conceive and appreciate the principles and forces that constitute a republic are absolutely necessary to its existence. This must be acquired. The immensity of its importance cannot be expressed or even estimated. The application of this power to the purposes of government is the highest and most important duty of man. A well-constituted government is the essential condition for the most advanced civilization, and upon which it must depend. What duty, then, so imperative? What benefit so great? What result so grand? Would the curse of intemperance, with its horrible train of crime, degradation, moral, social, domestic, physical, and financial ruin, be tolerated when virtue is appreciated? Would we behold the tears and hear the cries of women and children in their sufferings from hunger and cold, with indifference, if the sense of justice glowed in our hearts? Would corporate power, inspired by greed and impelled by cupidity, place its iron heel on the neck of labor, to rob and enslave it without a protest, if fraternal love beamed in our souls?

Would the tyrant robber-chiefs trample upon the people's rights, while we look on in slavish fear, if there was a spark of the love of liberty glowing in our breasts? Would courts be bribed and lobyists flourish, if corruption was not tolerated? Would land robbery, money swindling, railroad extortion, and gambling speculation be the order and the rule in a government of the people, for the people, by the people, if they did their duty as citizens?

We answer, No! There is no question in this matter. We cannot tolerate wrong when we realize it and know the remedy. We *do* tolerate it. Our duty as citizens is plain. We must not expect reward without earning it. The blessings of liberty come only to those who achieve liberty.

CHAPTER XIX.

NATURE AND USES OF GOVERNMENT.

"A new and fair division of the goods and rights of this world should be the main object of those who conduct human affairs."—*De Tocqueville.*

"SINCE writers have so confounded society with government as to leave little or no distinction between them, whereas, they are not only different, but have different origins: society is produced by our *wants*, and government by our *wickedness*; the former promotes our happiness *positively* by uniting our affections, the latter *negatively* by restraining our vices. The one encourages intercourse, the other creates distinctions.

"Society in every state is a blessing; but government, even in its best estate, is but a necessary evil: in its worst, an intolerable one; for when we suffer, or are exposed to the same miseries by a government which we might expect in a country without a government, our calamity is heightened by reflecting that *we furnish the means by which we suffer.**

"Government, like dress, is the badge of lost innocence; *the palaces of kings are built on the ruins of the bowers of Paradise.* For, were his impulses of conscience clear, uniform, and irresistibly obeyed, man would need no other law-giver; but that not being the case, he finds it necessary to render up a part

* In this allusion to the British government, how striking the analogy between it and our own!

of his property to furnish means for the protection of the rest; and this he is induced to do by the same prudence which in every other case advises him out of two evils to choose the least; wherefore, security being the true design and end of government, it unanswerably follows that whatever *form* thereof appears most likely to insure it to us with the least expense and greatest benefit is preferable to all others. In order to gain a clear and just idea of the design and end of government, let us suppose a small number of persons settled in some sequestered part of the earth unconnected with the rest; they will represent the first peopling of any country or of the world. In this state of natural liberty society will be their first thought, a thousand motives will excite them thereto; the strength of one man is so unequal to his wants, and his mind so unfitted for perpetual solitude, that he is soon obliged to seek assistance and relief of another, who in his turn requires the same. Four or five united would be able to raise a tolerable dwelling in the midst of a wilderness; but one man might labor out the common period of life without accomplishing anything: when he had felled his timber he could not remove it, nor erect it after it was removed; hunger in the mean time would urge him from his work, and every different want would call him a different way. Disease—nay, even misfortune—would be death, for though neither might be mortal, yet either would disable him from living, and reduce him to a state in which he might rather be said to perish than to die.

"Thus necessity, like a gravitating power, would soon form our newly arrived emigrants into society; the reciprocal blessings of which would supersede and render the obligations of law and government

unnecessary, while they remained perfectly just to each other; but as nothing but heaven is impregnable to vice, it will unavoidably happen that in proportion as they surmount the first difficulties of emigration which bind them together in a common cause, they will begin to relax in their duty and attachment, and this remissness will point out the necessity of establishing some form of government to supply defect of moral virtue.

"Some convenient tree will afford them a state house, under the branches of which the whole colony may assemble to deliberate on public matters. It is more than probable that their first laws will have the title only of *Regulations*, and be enforced by no other penalty than public disesteem. In this first parliament every man, by natural right, will have a seat.

"But as the colony increases, public concerns will increase likewise, and the distance at which the members may be separated will render it too inconvenient for all of them to meet on every occasion as at first, when their number was small, their habitations near, and public concerns few and trifling.

"This will point out the convenience of their consenting to leave the legislative part to be managed by a select number chosen from the whole body, who are supposed to have the same concerns at stake which those have who appoint them, and who will act in the same manner as the whole body would were they present. If the colony continue increasing, it will become necessary to augment the number of representatives; and that the interest of every part of the colony may be attended to, it will be found best to divide the whole into convenient parts, each part sending its proper number; and that the *elected* might never form to themselves an inter-

cet seperate from the *electors*, prudence will point out the propriety of having elections often; because as the *elected* might by that means return and mix again with the general body of the *electors*, in a few months their fidelity to the public will be secured by the prudent reflection of not making a rod for themselves. And as this frequent interchange will establish a common interest with every part of the community, they will mutually and naturally support each other, and on this depends the strength of government, and *the happiness of the governed*.

"Here, then, is the origin and rise of government, namely, a mode rendered necessary by the inability of moral virtue to govern the world; here, too, is the design and end of government, viz., freedom and security. And however our eyes may be dazzled with the show or our ears deceived by sound, however prejudice may warp our wills or interest darken our understanding, the simple virtue of nature and reason will say it is right.

"I draw my idea of government from a principle in nature which no art can overturn; viz., that the more simple anything is, the less liable it is to be disordered, and the more easily repaired when disordered."—*Paine's Rights of Man.*

The *aim* and *intent* of a republic is the regulation and protection of the people in the free and full exercise of their natural and inalienable rights. The *necessity* of government arises from the clashing of selfish interests; the *power* of government is commensurate with the needs and wants of man; and the *character* of government will correspond with the character of the people

composing it. The *foundation* of republican government is the natural rights of man and his common interests. The *principles* of a republican government consist in a free and voluntary compact by which the units form an aggregate, each maintaining his personal sovereignty; with a mutual agreement to abide by and conform to certain prescriptions for mutual benefit and safety; with constitutional provisions for organization, in which are specified the sovereign functions of government and provisions for exercising them; provisions for electing some of their own number, and delegating power to act within certain prescribed limits; being a voluntary national association, recognizing their natural rights and organizing for the sole purpose of securing their exercise and enjoyment.

Such government retains the power in the people; it serves the highest purposes of government, and lays a foundation lasting as long as the necessity for government exists.

It is the most advanced plan of government, founded on the recognition of the individual rights of property

How far these principles are to be carried out depends on the people composing it.

Its embodiment of principles and structure are prescribed and formulated in a constitution. This

is not the work of the government, but of the people; it is the *formation* of the government.

It defines and formulates the natural rights of the citizens.

It creates and establishes legislative and executive powers, prescribes a method of electing representatives, and determines their term of service and compensation therefor.

It defines the sovereign functions of government, and provides measures for their performance.

It provides for self-defense and relations with other governments; for revenue and public enterprises.

It secures to all its citizens equal rights, privileges, and opportunities.

It provides for schools of necessary kinds and their support, and due qualification for citizenship.

It creates modes for the administration of justice and the disposition and treatment of criminals; for the preservation of health, and protection from the allurements of debasing and degrading vices.

It secures freedom of opinion on all subjects, and freedom of speech and assemblage.

All its institutions are public corporations: its postal system, its telegraph and other lines of communication, its transportation and travel, its

education and bureaus for information, are established and conducted by government. Individual rights, privileges, and opportunities are equal, and all duties equally required and all burdens equally borne in proportion to their ability. Compensation for public service should be no inducement for being sought. For when extraordinary power and extraordinary pay are conferred upon any individual in government, he becomes the center around which every kind of corruption generates and forms. Give any man a very large official salary, and add thereto the power of disposing of places at the expense of the government, and offices of public service, and the liberties of the people are no longer secure. When once such a vicious system is established, it becomes the guard and protection of inferior abuses. Corruption, once tolerated, extends to all the departments of the government and becomes the rule.

It is the interest of each to defend the others, and thus all keep pure, for all have a mutual interest. *Reformation never comes from those in power.*

If we would compare the Federal Constitution with one framed as here indicated, we would at once discover its inadaptability to the requirements of a true republic.

In its legislative department, it has a branch

devoted to the interests of the higher class. By its criminal action, untold millions of dollars have been drawn from labor and given to idleness; by it a debt has been created and fastened upon the people, to be borne by them alone, while that class best able to bear it are exonerated, and this debt is sought to be perpetual. Through the influence of its leading members, that debt has been doubled in value by legislative enactment, and without any value in return to the people.

Had it not been for the interference of the Senate, the money which was designed for the expenditure of the government during the civil war, and which would have been at par with gold, would have remained in sufficient volume in circulation for all the purposes of industry and commerce.

The difference between such a condition and that which now exists is beyond all calculation. Notwithstanding the immense loss of life and destruction of property occasioned by the war, the volume left in circulation at its close gave such an impulse to industrial pursuits as were never before known in the history of our nation.

Wealth flowed in upon the people as if by magic, debts were paid, and comforts and even elegances were begun to be enjoyed. Through

the facts made palpable by the evidence of their senses, and cling to a delusion because it is a pleasing one, and try to make themselves believe the delusion is a reality.

The late Judge Black has given his testimony in regard to the political condition of our country, in the following unmistakable language:

"The actual consequences resulting to the country from the measures of the monopolists have not, I think, been truly represented or properly considered. For many years past, all legislation has been partial to capitalists, and correspondingly injurious to the rights of land and labor. To what pernicious extent this system has been carried I need not say, for it is seen and known of all men. It cannot and will not come to good. Artificial regulations of that character never have, since the beginning of the world, had any effect but a bad one on the general condition of society that tried them. But the monopolists insist that they have changed the nature of things and enriched the masses of the people by the simple process of filching from them the fruits of their toil. They loudly cry out that the whole country is in a state of boundless prosperity. They get this brag inserted in political platforms whenever they can, and thunder it from every stump on which they are permitted to speak. But it is false. They themselves are, indeed, superabundantly rich; and invested, as they are, with the privilege of plundering their fellow-citizens, why should they not be rich? But for every millionaire they have made a thousand paupers. The relations between workmen and employers have never been so unsat-

isfactory as now. Laborers are complaining everywhere of inadequate wages; and the complaint is true without doubt. The law ought to secure them a living rate of compensation; but capital has got labor by the throat, and will not suffer anything done for its relief.

"Agriculture is scarcely better off. The farmer who tills his own acres can make the barest living. The carrying trade of the world has passed from us into the hands of our great rival, simply because our preposterous legislation will not permit us to buy ships abroad, or build them at home without paying a tax on the material, which enhance their cost, and by reason of this—that is to say, carry it, or get it carried by the nearest way—we have lost what was or should be now the richest portion of our foreign commerce. Is all this loss and suffering of the industrious classes to be ignored?

"If we estimate the prosperity of a country only by the overgrown fortunes of individuals especially favored by law, then Ireland is prosperous as well as America; for there as here the legal machinery is in perfect order, which makes the rich richer, while it grinds the poor down into deeper poverty; and there as here the lines of Goldsmith are ever true and ever wise:

> "'Hard fares the state, to hastening ills a prey,
> Where wealth accumulates and men decay.'"

In formulating and framing a government, we must adopt the plan of nature. The entire domain of natural phenomena is the necessary result of the operation of natural law; whether it be in the domain of matter or mind, the law is

the influence of the Senate, contraction began, and the tide was turned. As a result, the people are robbed and being impoverished, class distinctions are built up, and corporate rule holds absolute sway.

The Senate has neither sympathy nor respect for the people; it is not elected by them, and feels under no obligations to them. This is justly inferred from the history of their action for the last twenty years.

Thus equality is destroyed, liberty trampled under foot, justice ignored, and the dear, and long-cherished hopes and aspirations of the toiling millions overthrown.

The executive department provided in the Federal Constitution is no less inimical to the liberties and happiness of the people. The vast powers conferred upon the chief executive enables him to turn this government into a despotism without changing the Constitution or abandoning popular elections. He is the head and leader of the dominant political party, and the power and patronage vested in him enables him to exercise a power that few kings possess.

"Section II. (Art. 2.) The President shall be the commander-in-chief of the army and navy of the United States, and of the militia of the several States when called into actual service of the United

States. He may require, in writing, the opinion of the principal officers in each of the executive departments upon any subject relating to the duties of their respective offices, and he shall have power to grant reprieves and pardons for offenses against the United States except in cases of impeachment.

"2. He shall have power, by and with the consent of the Senate, to make treaties, provided two-thirds of the Senate present concur; and he shall nominate, and by and with the consent of the Senate shall appoint, embassadors, other public ministers and consuls, judges of the Supreme Court, and all other officers of the United States whose appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by law; but the Congress may by law vest the appointment of such inferior officers as they think proper in the President alone, in the courts of law, or in the heads of departments.

"3. The President shall have power to fill up all vacancies that may happen during the recess of the Senate, by granting commissions which shall expire at the end of their next session.

"Sec. III. He shall from time to time give to Congress information of the state of the Union, and recommend for their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may on extraordinary occasions convene both Houses or either of them, and in case of disagreement between them with respect to the time of adjournment, he may adjourn them to such time as he shall think proper; he shall receive embassadors and other public ministers; he shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed, and shall commission all the officers of the United States."—*United States Constitution.*

Section VII., 2 (Article I.), clothes the President with a negative power over the action of the Congress, of any majority less than two-thirds.

These powers vested in the President are kingly prerogatives and derived from English law, modified by the pressure of public sentiment at the time of the framing of the Federal Constitution and by the necessity to secure its ratification.

The English monarch commands his armies, creates his courts, advises his Parliament, appoints his embassadors, makes treaties, and pardons state criminals.

What a wonderful similarity! The one, the head and representative of a *free* government and the other of a monarchy! How obvious it is that this transformation of a popular government into a despotism of the vilest and most degrading kind—not into a monarchy, where some respect is due to the subjects, but of an oligarchy, whose sole and avowed purpose is dominion of all the wealth resources of the land.

The corrupting influence and tyranny of the courts transferred from the English monarchy with no material change of character are by this Constitution foisted upon our government, a department unnecessary in a government of equal-

ity, intelligence, and justice. Could an estimate be made that would exhibit at one view the evils of our judiciary system, it would be appalling. The tyranny of the courts, the defeat of justice, the immunity of the wealthy, the vexatious delays, and enormous expense are burdens too heavy for a free people to bear.

The Federal Constitution allows members of Congress to fix their own compensation, while the people have to supply the treasury from which they draw their salaries.

This is contrary to all business principles; it should be determined by the people and incorporated in their Constitution.

The United States Constitution authorizes the disposition of the "territory and other property of the United States."—(Art. IV., Sec. III.)

This power to dispose of the public domain has been and is employed to build up giant monopolies, which override the liberties of the people and destroy their government. The idea that the public domain belongs to the government and not to the people is derived from the prevailing opinion that the sovereign is sole proprietor of the nation, and that the government is the sovereign. The people have been robbed of an area of one-third of the arable land of the country: the disastrous effects will be realized in

years to come. It has laid the foundation for evils that may culminate in blood. Such reckless disregard for justice and the public welfare is unparalleled in the history of modern governments. The powers conferred by land monopoly have been discussed, and their evils in other countries should have served as a warning to our own; but blind to every other consideration, corporate power has sought every means for its advancement, and the very foundation of all prosperity has been removed by the government transfer of the land of the people to the control of corporations.

"It was and is the evident duty of the government," says R. T. Bland, "to prevent any monopoly of the soil, and to hold the public lands to equal and free occupancy by the people for actual settlement. To give or to sell the lands in large bodies to individuals or corporations for speculative purposes is a manifest usurpation and injustice. It is a violation of the spirit of free government, and incompatible with the continued existence of a republic. It is a direct step toward aristocracy and despotism."

The results of vested power, and its exercise beyond the control of the people, are perfectly in accordance with the conclusions reached by logical deductions. The temptations it affords to

ambitious and unscrupulous men are too great; and the facilities for their gratification are employed for the overthrow of free government. The structure of our government offers opportunities for usurpation and robbery; as one politician was candid enough to say, "If the people put saddles on their backs and spurs on our heels, they might expect we would ride." The consequence is, the worst men came to the surface; and a Franklin or a Jefferson could no more be elected to an office than a Christian priest could officiate at a Mussulman's altar. The idea of conferring titles of nobility upon citizens would excite honest indignation, but they are virtually conferred by corporate charters upon American citizens who excel English aristocracy in everything but virtue. These are the facts that confront us to-day; these are the logical sequences of vested powers beyond the people's control, attracting the selfish, the unscrupulous and ambitious, and virtually inviting them to take the reins of government in their own hands; and they have accepted the invitation; they have seized the opportunity offered them. What is the remedy? RECONSTRUCTION. *Establish a government on the principles of the Declaration of Independence.*

It is worthy of remark how tenaciously the people hold to a mere name, and refuse to accept

as absolutely definite and determinate in the realm of mentality as that of matter. But sensuous perception has always preceded the deeper processes of the reasoning powers. The apparent always comes before the real, even in the realm of matter. Astrology preceded astronomy. For thousands of years the world was satisfied with the idea that the earth was flat, and that the sun, planets, and stars revolved around it. Alchemy was the intuitive vagaries that human genius has since developed into chemistry, and the dreams of transmutation indulged in by the alchemist are realized in the magical results of modern chemistry. The forces that now move the machinery of the civilized world, until within a comparatively recent period of time, were slumbering in the coal-beds, and only waited the power of genius to evoke them. The electric force, that until recently only displayed itself in the lightning's flash and the thunder's roar, now meekly obeys the voice of man and becomes his most valuable servant.

What is done in the realm of mechanical forces, that have added so much to the power of production and facility of communication, may soon be done in the realm of thought. The moral forces that move the social world, definite and determinate as they are, will be recognized and

applied to the social and political world. As *motion* is the result of physical force, so *emotion* is the result of moral force. What *gravitation* and *chemical affinity* are to the physical world and *justice* to the moral world, so is *desire* to the social world. The laws of motion are so well understood that machinery is contrived and arranged by which almost incalculable results are obtained. The laws of moral and social force must be equally comprehended and applied to obtain results of commensurate value.

In the affairs of government, the natural laws of mind are ignored. Self-constituted authority and usurpation of power were the first steps toward the establishment of government. Edicts and mandates were the first laws. Resistance on the part of the governed was the next step. This resulted in a compromise between the "powers that be" and the subject of these powers. Under such a system of government, in the course of time there accumulated a vast amount of laws and usuages, sanctioned by custom, in the form of edicts, decisions, opinions, speculations, and legislative enactments, classified, systematized, theorized, and formulated; and elevated into the dignity of a science by the ingenious commentaries of men of acknowledged

ability, and accepted as the authority of govern ment.

The moral law of social relations is *justice*; that of government is *force*. The first is the law of God; the second the law of man. The adjustment of man's relations by the former will secure the full capacity of his happiness; the adjustment by the latter, under the control of prevailing power, brings into existence in civilized nations the distinctions of high and low, rich and poor, bond and free. Force takes the place of justice. Immense wealth in few hands is drawn from labor by the power of man-made law.

There is no more effectual way of establishing slavery of the most abject kind than by reducing the people to poverty. Give to man everything else he may desire—health, liberty, learning, genius: poverty will make him the humblest and most submissive slave. Give him wealth, and he feels the aspirations and dignity of a man, because wealth enables him to develop, exercise, and enjoy the attributes that characterize him as a moral, intellectual, and social being.

Impoverishment of the people is the only mode of subjugation, and ignorance of human rights, however much impracticable knowledge and learned nonsense may prevail, is the means

of subjugation. Legislation provides for it, and the "courts of law" secure it. Force and authority take the place of reason and justice. Greed and want, avarice and poverty, discontent and submission, are the somewhat paradoxical conditions of the people. Three words will express the remedy—JUSTICE TO ALL; and how to obtain that justice is the object of our present inquiry.

With what has been said, the method may be readily inferred. Injustice inevitably brings misery. The whole intent of republican government is to secure justice. With it flow all the blessings of society and the benefits of government.

How shall we secure it?

1. Frame such a government as will secure the control of it to the governed.

2. Provide for a fair and honest election of officers by a proportional system of representation.

3. Provide due qualification for citizenship by disregarding the distinction of sex, and securing adequate moral and intellectual cultivation.

4. Let all power delegated to officers be returned at stated periods to the people by the expiration of their term of office.

5. Let the burden of revenues be borne

equally by all in proportion to their ability to bear it.

6. Provide for a financial system by which exchanges are made equal, and a just distribution of wealth is secured.

7. Substitute a system of arbitration for the present "courts of law." In the adjustment of controversies, justice is all that is demanded. In any community where the conduct of men is expected to meet with approval, they certainly would be willing to abide by the decision of such men as they would select. The complications, intricacies, and subtleties of law are beyond the mental scope of the people, and when applied in the adjustment of controversies or causes at issue, by a class of experts who are specially trained in those complications, intricacies, and subtleties, the people are at their mercy; and since this class officiate for the people, and shape and construe the laws of which they are sole creators and expounders, and even expounders of the meaning of Constitutions, the dependence of the people on them is that of absolute submission—a condition that every honest man should spurn with contempt and indignation.

8. A system of national enterprise for travel, transportation, and communication, by which only the cost is paid, or if more, let it be applied as revenue.

9. A system of education by which the citizens will be qualified for the discharge of all their duties, and thus secure a free government.

These are the fundamental principles upon which a true republic may be established, the aim and end of which is the regulation and protection of the people in the exercise of their natural rights; and this exercise is the best and all that government can confer upon a people. It is for them to determine. It is only for them to understand to apply the remedy. It is impossible to conceive that men will take up arms and spend their lives and fortunes, *not* to maintain their rights, but to perpetuate a system that outrages every principle of justice and destroys their liberty.

The power to do this is in the people; but that power must be concentrated. The power is in the knowledge of these immortal truths in the minds of the people and in their will to enforce them.

"If, while there is yet time," says Henry George, "we turn to justice and obey her, if we trust liberty and follow her, the dangers that now threaten must disappear." The means for such reconstruction are still in our hands; but intelligence, resolution, organization, are the necessary conditions for its successful accomplishment. Let

the ballot, which is the force that now menaces our destruction, be turned to agencies for construction. Let wisdom guide and reason rule; let unity give strength.

With a government as here indicated, what a glorious achievement would be accomplished!

"With want destroyed; with greed changed to noble passions; with the fraternity that is born of equality taking the place of jealousy and fear that array men against each other; with mental power loosened by conditions that give to the humblest comfort and leisure—and who shall measure the heights to which our civilization may soar? Words fail the thought! It is the golden age of which poets have sung and high-raised seers have told in metaphor. It is the glorious vision which has always haunted man with gleams of fitful splendor." —*Henry George.*

Civilization, which has risen and declined in successive periods, may steadily pursue its upward course. It only needs the full and uninterrupted play of the social forces, and the political appliances for their regulation and protection of their exercise, to reach a point in civilization never yet experienced in the history of the world. There is nothing extravagant or exaggerating in this view.

When poverty is removed; when avarice and greed no longer goad to cruelty and robbery, and the higher faculties assert their prerogative, then

the "sword will be beaten into a plowshare, and the spear into a pruning-hook."

Is not this worth striving for? What nobler object could engage the attention of man? How earnestly and faithfully the patriot fathers struggled for this! How bravely and lavishly they poured out their treasure and their blood! And shall we, the sons and daughters of such noble sires, ignobly submit to what they so gloriously conquered?

"The true republic is not yet here; but her birth-struggles must soon begin. Already with the hope of her men's thoughts are stirring Not a republic of landlords and peasants, nor a republic of millionaires and tramps; not a republic in which some are masters and some serve: but a republic of equal citizens, where competition becomes co-operation, and the interdependence of all gives true independence to each; where moral progress goes hand in hand with intellectual progress, and material progress elevates and enfranchises even the poorest and weakest and lowliest."—*Henry George.*

CHAPTER XX.

DIFFICULTIES CONSIDERED.

"Truth crushed to earth will rise again,
The eternal years of God are hers;
While Error writhing in her pain
Dies amid her worshipers."

THE presentation of new thoughts, or even of old ones in new arrangement or application, excites opposition and is generally resisted. We cherish our opinions with vigilant care. No difference what they are or how we came by them: should they be assailed, we hasten with laudable zeal to defend them. Were they judiciously selected from the great field of thought and formed with special regard to truth and reason? We never knew how or when they were formed. We never questioned their soundness nor suspected their validity. But let a new idea, or a new application of an old one, be presented for acceptance, and forthwith there is "war in the camp." We approach it with the utmost caution; we examine it with the utmost care; we scrutinize it with the keenest adverse criticism; and then—reject it. This is the most favorable consideration of its treatment. Too often we refuse it attention,

and not seldom make war upon it because it is a new idea.

There are several reasons for this. We love our opinions because—they are ours. They flow along the mental ruts without much exertion; whereas, the acceptance of a new idea necessitates a mental effort.

They belong to our sect or our party, and are therefore to be cherished. To adopt a new train of thought or of thought to new purposes requires moral courage—a quality of mind that cannot be overrated. Any change is not popular. The advocacy of a new thought or a new arrangement of thought subjects one to the charge of being a "crank," an impracticable dreamer, an optimist, a socialist, a communist—scarecrows to deter investigation and keep the timid "in their proper places."

It is along the line of religious, social, and political thought that the advance has been slowest—where passion is the most liable to excitement, where control of opinion is most available for despotism.

And yet ideas are the potent agencies in the world. The idea of right to private opinion, originated by Martin Luther, broke down the walls of ecclesiastical tyranny and liberated millions from the rule of popery. The idea of

diurnal revolution changed the direction of thought into new channels, and explained the apparent motions of the heavenly bodies, and sent Columbus across the ocean to explore a new world. The idea of gravitation formulated astronomical science and gave to Newton undying fame. A new idea sent Franklin's kite into the clouds and revealed the identity of the lightning's flash with that mysterious force that now binds the world of thought by the electric wire.

These new ideas battled with persistent energy against stolid conservatism; and years of precious time and precious treasure and more precious blood flowed along the path of progress as a sacrifice to the god of "old opinion." And history is about to repeat itself in the advent of another new idea. The fitful gleam of victory won by this new idea a hundred years ago, and lost in the gloom of old conservatism, is about to burst forth in a new and steady light, whose splendor will envelope the civilized world, and bring joy and peace to its millions of struggling toilers.

A careful study of the obstacles to be overcome in the advent of a new idea will give us some impression of the difficulties to be surmounted in the impending conflict. Happily, we have as the fruits of the Revolutionary struggle the two essential elements of success in the strife

left to us—the Declaration of Independence, the acknowledged charter of our liberties, and the ballot. These are conceded. They dispense with the necessity of compulsory force in an open conflict, and relegate the battle-ground to the domain of ideas.

We are placed in a position to fight with brain and heart. This is the true method of warfare, its victories are permanent and valuable. Those of Alexander, Hannibal, Cæsar, and Napoleon concentrate their lurid glare upon these illustrious warriors; while those of Aristotle, Plato, Lycurgus, Gracchus, Kepler, Galileo, Columbus, Newton, Jefferson, and a host of others whose weapons were ideas, have shed their light upon the world, and will continue to grow brighter during all the coming ages

The condition of the people, arising from a multitude of opinions, causing distraction and disunion in their ranks, is the thing to be deprecated. A small army of well-organized and thoroughly disciplined troops can easily defeat and put to rout a large army of disunited and demoralized soldiers. Their strength lies in their organization, and not in their numbers. And so it is in this political warfare: strength is as requisite and as dependent on organization and discipline, which in this case means education.

We are now prepared to consider the difficulties. They lie in the condition of the people, and not in the power of their oppressors. There is nothing in the way to permanent and complete victory that the people cannot overcome. The principles upon which it is founded are acknowledged and recognized. The intelligence and will of the people constitute the acknowledged power; and the ballot, by which this power can be exercised, is in the acknowledged possession of the people. All that is needed is to exercise it. The man who would starve to death with his larder well supplied would be considered a fool or a lunatic. Our enemy's strength is our weakness, and our weakness is our disorganized, distracted condition. As long as we remain so, victory over us is easy and certain. We have a common cause, a common interest. We have a common enemy. He is vigilant, active, brave, artful, and far-seeing. He takes advantage of our passions by exciting them on the eve of an election. He takes advantage of our vices in keeping their stimulants before us in the form of vile intoxicants. He takes advantage of our ignorance by concealing his real objects from view, and putting us upon a false scent. He swindles us out of true representation by electing—or rather make us elect for him—his own tools; or should

by chance an honest man be elected, he manages to silence him in some way. He concentrates and masses us in nearly equally balanced array, one portion of us against the other, to do his bidding.

It is to be acknowledged that these achievements require cunning, vigilance, energy, perfect organization, and untiring zeal. The difficulty lies in our prejudices, lack of confidence in each other and in ourselves, in our political bias and party zeal, in our want and the fear of poverty, in the contemplation of the enemy's strength, in his wealth and political power, in our own cupidity and selfishness, and the discouragement of the failures of our favorite plans. It lies in the force of custom, submission to authority, the pressure of immediate and pressing demands, and in the inability to provide for them while organizing the elements necessary to the defeat of the enemy.

The apathy, indifference, and neglect arising from these conditions are difficult to overcome. The people are strangers to each other. The expense and time necessary for assembling and intermingling for counsel are not at their command. They depend on the press for information, which is sure to ignore all intelligence necessary for the improvement of their condition, and it is difficult to establish a system of jour-

nalism by which the necessary communication can be secured.

Can these difficulties he overcome with the means at the people's command?

This is the question pregnant with the most vital issues of the age. They must be overcome. The spirit of Napoleon's question must be in our question—"Is the passage through the mountain pass possible?" asked he of the guide. "It is impracticable," was the reply. "Is it possible?" demanded the warrior, in a stentorian voice. This is the question the people must put, and in the earnestness in which it was put in the midst of Alpine snows. And, like Napoleon, they will turn the impracticable into the possible and achieve a victory.

It *is* possible; and as soon as this fact is realized, victory is sure to follow.

Shall the great mass of the American people be consigned to servile submission to a few robber-chiefs because of their superior knowledge, energy, and skill in concentrating and directing their forces? Shall the few prey upon and impoverish the many, while it is conceded that the power of government is derived from the consent of the governed? Shall despotism rule while the people hold the ballot? Shall treason triumph over liberty and justice be handcuffed by greed?

The thought that these questions are pertinent, or can even be suggested with a hundred years of schooling in government, is humiliating, and calculated to excite alarm in the minds of every lover of liberty.

A change in public opinion is rapidly going on, and when it reaches the point requisite for action, then action will come. At present the most advanced reform political party sees nothing and proposes nothing that promises permanent relief from the evils they suffer.

Reduction in freights and fares, advance in wages and reduction in the price of articles of consumption, lower rates of interest and more liberal terms in rent, are now demanded; the compliance to which would satisfy the people. They ask mitigation, and mitigation is compromise. To compromise with robbers and usurpers is to acknowledge the right to rob and usurp.

"It is best that the truth be fully stated and clearly recognized. He who sees the truth let him proclaim it, without asking who is for it or who is against it. This is not radicalism in the bad sense which so many attach to the word. It is conservatism in the true sense."—*Henry George.*

A people who clearly comprehend their rights, who appreciate their value, and are able to realize the blessings their full exercise would confer,

would lose no time in providing the means for their enjoyment. As long as the people think the theory of their government is right, there is no possibility of a change.

We claim the right not only to choose our servants to perform prescribed duties, and to hold them responsible, but to alter, amend, or abolish the Constitution, and frame one to our liking if we think it necessary; yet we go on repeating the farce over and over, suffer defeat in all measures of redress in legislatures and courts, while oligarchies and petty aristocracies multiply and grow stronger year by year. Every effort the people make in their behalf is in some way foiled and a new advantage for corporate interest gained. To see this and realize it is the first step. Thought will thereby be aroused, investigation succeed, intelligence develop; organization will follow, and a power that will wrest from the hand of greed the people's wealth, and convert the machinations of political chicanery into an honest government.

No one can compute the evils of war. In the work of building up a true republic there is no necessity for it. The battle-field is the brain and heart, and the weapons ideas propelled by the love of justice, equality, and liberty. The victory won upon this field will be lasting, beneficent, glorious.

CHAPTER XXI.

SUMMARY.

"Is it right, is it fair,
That we perish of despair,
In this land, on this soil,
Where our destiny is set,
Which we cultured with our toil
And watered with our sweat?
We have plowed, we have sown,
But the crop is not our own;
We have reaped, but harpy hands
Swept the harvest from our lands."

FROM what has been written, we are able to obtain some idea of what a republican government should be. Its object is to secure the fullest and freest exercise of the natural rights of the citizen consistent with good government. These rights have been considered, and the means for their exercise somewhat discussed.

The bounties of nature so generously bestowed by our Creator are to be secured alike to all his children. Land is the primary source of all the means of life. The first consideration is a just method by which a just portion is secured to all who desire to occupy and use it—or, rather, the *necessity* of such occupancy and use; the mode is to be prescribed by law.

Those who control the land, and can fix the terms of occupation, hold a power over the occupants. He who controls the means of life controls life itself. Since land is the primary source of the means of life, and is controlled in large quantities by few individuals, we can easily perceive the evils of land monopoly. The necessity of removing this evil is apparent to all. A true republic cannot exist with our present laws of land tenure.

Now what is the duty of the citizen? Some means must be adopted by which the natural rights of the people to the land are secured; and this right transcends in importance all others. What that method is must be determined by the people.

A medium of exchange is of next importance. The false teachings designedly set up by those interested in controlling the currency have enabled them to so mystify the public mind as to secure such control.

The necessity of a clear and comprehensive understanding of money, its nature and functions, is so obvious that no one can fail to see it. The equal exchange of values would prevent their accumulation in the hands of those who control the volume of circulation. In this consists the evil. The effectual method by which

this is done is to make gold and silver the basis. So long as this idea prevails, there is no hope for a system of finance that will secure all the benefits of money to the people, and enable them to avoid the evils that arise from it. With the control of the volume of currency in the hands of the few, and for their benefit, a republic cannot exist.

The history of our government is ample proof of this. The moneyed corporations and capitalists hold absolute control over the industries of the country: labor and its products, and consequently the laborer and producer, are dependent on those who control the money of the country. This creates distinctions between the many and the few: the many toil and suffer; the few are clothed in "purple and fine linen, and fare sumptuously every day."

This distinction creates aristocracies, and aristocracies cannot exist in a republic. Therefore, a system of finance that will meet the demands of the people in effecting an equal exchange and distribution of values is an imperative necessity.

Regulation of transportation and travel, that will secure all their benefits to the people at actual cost, is an equal necessity. The history of transportation in this country demonstrates the fact that vast wealth is accumulated by corpora-

tions that control transportation and travel at the expense of the people. The rights of the people must be secured in the best modes and cheapest rates before a true republic can exist.

Telegraphic communication should constitute part of the postal system, thus increasing the facilities for the spread of intelligence. So far, this important and valuable agent is controlled, and the people are made dependent on those who control it, not only *for* intelligence, but for *what* intelligence they receive—often false, and always such as serves the purposes of the managers. Therefore, the telegraph system must be made to serve the people's interests. This is essential to the existence of republican government.

The revenues of the government must be provided by a tax on property and not on labor. The burden would then be borne equally by all in proportion to their ability to bear it. The history of our revenue system shows the gross injustice of it by imposing an undue burden on the laboring classes and protecting capitalists, and by destroying one of the most important and valuable industries of the country—marine commerce. This condition is incompatible with a government wherein equal rights to all are to be exercised and enjoyed by all.

The co-existence of natural rights and corpor

ate power is impossible in a true republic, for corporate power is the usurpation of natural rights. Corporations have become the agents by which all political and industrial powers are exercised—in the interests of corporations. The exercise of corporate power vested by law and sustained by the courts has obtained such control over land, over money, over transportation, and all popular interests, that the people are made dependent on them, and are compelled to submit to their dictation. The history of our country proves this also. Therefore, corporations for private gain and individual aggrandizement are at war with the true interests of a republic.

An elective system by which proportional representation can be secured is an indispensable requirement of a true republic. In the election of legislators or any other body of men clothed with specific powers, as many citizens as possible should be represented. As our election laws now exist, it can be shown that a very small minority of the people may elect. The system of conventions for nominating candidates are controlled in the interests of corporations, and their agents and elections are but the ratification of some one whose manipulators are more skillful or can command more "influence."

Our legislative system, consisting of two

branches, is inconsistent with popular representation. It renders legislation difficult and dilatory, and offers ample opportunity for defeating the people's will and securing class interests. It is useless, cumbersome, dilatory, and open to corruption and destructive to republican government.

The appointing and veto power are kingly prerogatives and a usurpation of natural rights. The office of commander-in-chief of all the military and naval forces of the nation is another. The appointing power brings to his support a class of men who by their dependence and sense of obligation for their place feel bound to serve their master. His veto power enables him to defeat national legislation, measured by a majority verging on two-thirds of both branches. His military authority gives him immense prestige and power, which he may exercise at his discretion.

A judiciary system is in existence in our government that is the source of a vast amount of corruption and fraud, and bears heavily upon the people. Predicated on the authority of law, it only aims to deal with law and the precedents established by decisions of courts, some of which were made more than a hundred years ago! Strange that men of mature minds and experience

should be compelled to go back a hundred years and search among the musty volumes of judicial decisions to determine a case in which the parties to it demand simple justice! The whole system is defended and supported, not for the sake of justice, but because it is a source of vast revenue and power to a class of men trained in the abstruse subtleties of the law—not a necessary, but an unnecessary, evil; for it has been shown that a system of adjudication in which justice can be secured independent of "law courts," and the paraphernalia, expense, delay, appeal, vexation, and uncertainty of trials at law, is incompatible with a republican government.

Courts profess not only to administer the law, but to interpret the law, and although the law-making power is declared to be supreme, the court declares this or that law null and void by its own authority. The courts which often set aside equitable cases should themselves be set aside, and the more simple, speedy, direct, and less expensive system of arbitration be substituted. Instead of justice, we have law; instead of reason, we have authority. An eminent lawyer has given his testimony:

"It has been the custom from time immemorial for courts to be governed and controlled by precedents. This is adopted in order that the law may

be settled and certain. When questions arise under the statutes, the meaning of which is ambiguous, resort is had to former decisions under like statutes for a rule of construction, and thus the law is *settled*. We accept the decision as the law, and to criticise it is deemed discourteous to the court making it. To call in question the motives of the courts or to doubt their wisdom is deemed RANK TREASON. The rule governing them *may be of ancient date; the reason for its adoption may have long ceased; the* RULE ITSELF MAY BE OBSOLETE. . . . . Most of these old precedents originated in monarchical countries where all doubtful questions were construed in favor of the crown, and where the rights of the people always yielded to kingly prerogative. . . . . The practice of solving constitutional problems by resort to old monarchical precedents, and the adoption of the reasoning of the high courts of the king's *exchequer*, should not be tolerated in a republic. Our courts should be courts of the people, and not a *star-chamber* for the protection and perpetration of the monarchical dogma that 'it is absolutely necessary to independent national existence that the government should have a firm hold on the two great sovereign instrumentalities of the sword and the purse,' as was declared by the Supreme Court of the United States in December, 1871. Such declarations are at war with our ideas of republican government. It has no support, save in despotic governments and decisions emanating from them; yet it is the doctrine that must obtain if the recent decisions of the Supreme Court are to remain as the settled law of the nation. To accept this doctrine as the final exposition of the relative rights of the people and the government is to acknowledge that the agents and servants of the peo-

ple, elected and appointed to office, become their masters, clothed with imperial power."—*D. C. Cloud.*

The Supreme Court declares what is law and what is not law, what is constitutional and what is not. It administers the law or not in accordance with its supreme pleasure. It is not responsible to the people; it is the supreme autocrat.

There could not have been devised a more successful and effectual method of defeating justice, and giving full scope and free play to legal minds, than the jury system. The less a man knows, the better qualified he is for a juror. If he reads the news and forms an opinion, he cannot serve. Integrity and intelligence tell against him. Men unaccustomed to continuous thought and logical processes are kept for hours, and sometimes for days, exposed to the pitiless storm of contentious wrangling and intricate sophistries, become so wearied and confused that they are unable to put two ideas in logical order. What chance for justice, when with confused and exhausted minds they retire for deliberation, to grapple with the abstruse subtleties of the law, and the contending arguments of the opposing counsel? One juryman, more wise or more obstinate, offsets the eleven, and the case goes back to the court to repeat the farce.

Besides, men are taken from their business and kept for days in the custody of the court for the purpose of determining whether they are stupid enough for first-class jurymen. Custom has fortified the practice, and the people think they must submit.

Thus the people suffer and are robbed *according to law;* they support an army of men skilled in legal legerdemain, who produce nothing but evil, *according to law.*

Education, which involves the very existence of a republic, has proved insufficient and inadequate to the high and important offices it is designed to perform. With hundreds of millions of dollars expended for its support, and the great expectations the people have cherished, how little real service it has rendered! Years of the most precious period of life are wasted in the acquisition of knowledge never called into use; while other knowledge, waiting the opportunity of the master to impart, and which the imperative necessities of life demand, is not even dreamed of by the educators of the land. The principles of political science, the very basis of society and government, are unknown to the educational curriculum, indispensable to popular government; it should be the great central idea of popular education. The necessity of qualification for

citizenship has been shown. Let it be realized in its full force.

This brief enumeration of objections, fatal to a true republic, will indicate the plan and outline of such a government as was contemplated by the patriot fathers, and which was partially set in operation for a brief period.

The claim of equal natural rights made sacred and inalienable by divine endowment, and the right to organize and establish a government to secure their free exercise, asserted and maintained in defiance of the despotism of the Old World, was heroic, grand, and sublime. After a hundred years of experience in an ineffectual struggle to support a republican government, and with the aid advancing knowledge and the history of other governments as lights and warnings, the people should be able to frame a government that will be a republic in fact as well as in name.

It is expected, as a matter of course, that the people, fully sensible of their great wrongs, and of the rights they hold by divine inheritance, and appreciating the means and opportunities at their disposal, will proceed without delay, and show to the world that they have rights and are able to maintain them.

When we think of what might be, what the

almost infinite capacity for improvement, for human culture, for happiness; when we think of the plenitude of wealth that might be produced, of the freedom we might enjoy, with the appliances of all these already at our hands; when we think of the beautiful, elegant homes, and their smiling, happy inmates; when we think how poor, how pitiful, how little better than barbarism, is this land of civilization, with its teeming millions toiling with calloused hands, with bended backs, and stiffened joints: if we could realize their cares and anxieties, their want and fear of want, and their struggles with poverty and debt; if we could at once set this picture and that side by side—what feelings of regret and indignation would fill the soul! Yet these pictures are not overdrawn.

This is a broad and rich land. A beneficent Father has endowed it with inexhaustible natural resources, and his children with unmeasured capacities and possibilities, and yet we groan with burdens heaped upon us by those who are in theory our equals, but in reality ten thousand times stronger, because we have bowed down to the authority of laws enacted for the express purpose of taking our power unto themselves.

In our senseless zeal for party, we have

placed in power men who have sought their places with the sole intent of betraying us, and then reap for themselves a reward for their treachery! We have done this repeatedly. We have a hundred years' experience, and that of other nations for thousands of years, yet we struggle in the toils of error, succumb to the weakness of ignorance, and flounder in the sea of political empiricism! We go back more than a hundred years and search amid the vague speculations of monarchists for light to guide us in framing and supporting republican institutions!

With righteous indignation and heroic energy we strip off the robes of royalty, and in a few short years we don them in the name of liberty. We hurl with contempt the insignia of nobility and its supporters, primogeniture and entail from the pages of our fundamental law, and forthwith endow the same instrument with the purple and fine linen of corporate power. With British common law, British courts, British finance, British legislation, and British executive prerogatives transferred to American soil, we vainly imagine we are living in a republic.

May this delusion be swept away; may we be enabled to behold our condition as it is; and then with one heart and with one intent stand forth resolved to be free.

To do this, we must demand amendments to the Constitution by which the natural and inalienable rights of the people will be secured in their free and full exercise. These rights are divinely endowed; they are guaranteed by the Declaration of Independence; they were conceived in the highest and holiest aspirations of the human soul, and brought forth amid the din of battle and the flow of blood—"THAT WHENEVER ANY FORM OF GOVERNMENT BECOMES DESTRUCTIVE OF THESE ENDS, ... TO SECURE THE RIGHTS OF THE GOVERNED, ... IT IS THE RIGHT OF THE PEOPLE TO ALTER OR ABOLISH IT, AND TO INSTITUTE A NEW GOVERNMENT, LAYING ITS FOUNDATION ON SUCH PRINCIPLES AND ORGANIZING ITS POWERS IN SUCH FORM AS TO THEM SHALL SEEM MOST LIKELY TO EFFECT THEIR SAFETY AND HAPPINESS."

SYNOPSIS

OF

THE NEW REPUBLIC.

DEFINITION.

POPULAR government is a *national association* in which all its citizens are recognized as possessing equal rights, privileges, and opportunities.

The term "popular government" means a "government of the people, by the people, for the people"; that is, one in which the will of the people is fairly and properly expressed and exercised.

POWER.

The power of such a government is derived "from the consent of the governed."

There are essentially two forms of government: in the one, the power is assumed or usurped, and is vested in one or more persons who claim the right to rule; such government is a monarchy, usually in some modified form, an aristocracy, or a confederation of petty aristocracies, constituting an oligarchy. In the other, the power, emanating

from the people by virtue of their natural rights, is delegated to representatives to execute the people's will; this form of government is a republic. In the former, it is permission by or submission to usurped powers; in the latter, it is consent which implies volition, will, by the governed. Since volition means freedom of action, a government deriving its power from the consent of the governed must be a free government.

PURPOSE.

The object of popular government is the regulation and protection of all its citizens in the full and free exercise of their natural rights and opportunities.

In monarchies and aristocracies, the purpose of government is the aggrandizement of those who govern at the expense of the governed; in a popular government all the benefits go to the governed. It follows, as an inevitable conclusion, that if "all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights"—all must be equal beneficiaries in any scheme of government instituted "to secure these rights."

CONDITIONS NECESSARY FOR ITS EXISTENCE.

Popular government can only exist when there is intelligence in its citizens to comprehend the principles upon which it is based, and virtue to appreciate the rights upon which it is founded.

No duty can be properly performed without due qualification of those upon whom such duty de-

volves. No one would intrust another with any kind of work or business, unless he was satisfied as to the qualification of the person so intrusted for that work or business; for no one could succeed in any enterprise or business without the proper knowledge and skill. No one can intrust another unless he himself understands the work to be performed, with any prospect of success. If the employer be ignorant, he is dependent on the employee and at his mercy. Designing knaves seek such employers because they can take advantage of them. In popular government the people are the employers and their only safeguard is their intelligence.

Not only is intelligence necessary, but the ability to appreciate the value of human rights is essential to their preservation and enjoyment. The love of justice must be supreme; for justice is to the mental what gravitation is to the physical world—the great regulator of the equilibrium of values, as gravity is that of forces. If values are duly appreciated, they are secured and utilized; if not, they cannot be. Therefore, there must be such love of justice in the people that any violation of it would be deemed sacrilege.

The value of these rights is equal to life itself; and life is valuable only so far as they are exercised and utilized. Hence, the conditions necessary to the existence and maintenance of a popular government must depend on the intelligence and virtue of its citizens.

ENUMERATION AND DEFINITION OF RIGHTS.

I. The right to live; that is, to the free and unrestrained activity of all the physical powers and mental faculties of the individual in the legitimate pursuits of life.

This is personal freedom, without which no one can truly be said to live; namely, to carry out all the purposes of life; although he may in a certain sense be said to exist.

II. The means of life, which consist in—

(1.) The possession and free use of all the natural elements of wealth—God's free gifts to man—sunlight, air, water, and the natural products in it, and land with its natural productions, as minerals, metals, forests, and wild animals and fruits.

Since these natural means of wealth are produced by no man, they belong to no man; but as "God is no respecter of persons," they belong to all equally alike. They are sources of supply for man's consumption, and as all equally need the supply for consumption, all are equally entitled to the means for obtaining the supply for consumption.

Sunlight is the great vivifying principle of the earth: all life and organization depend upon it.

Air is so essential to life that were one compelled to walk two hundred yards to reach it, he would perish in the attempt. Hence it envelopes the whole earth, and presses into every nook and corner where life exists.

Water enters into every structure of organized beings, and of most of them constitutes the greater part. It is the great fertilizer of the soil, and an essential supporter of life.

Land is the source of the means of life, and those who control it control the means of life. In densely populated countries, this condition is fully realized. In our country the possession and control of vast

tracts of land are rapidly passing into the hands of a few. As population increased, the area of our country expanded and the pressure was not felt; but its limits are now nearly reached, population is flowing in and increasing among us, and the time is not far distant, when, by accumulation in large tracts in the hands of the few and increase of population, there is nothing to prevent the poverty and enslavement of the many by the few.

(2.) (*a.*) The use and benefits of the forces evolved by the expansive power of heat and other means for the evolution of force.

The law by which force is evolved is God's law, and the benefits derived from it belong alike to all his children. The value of these forces may be estimated by the consideration of the fact that the evolution of force is only limited by the demand for it in the propulsion of machinery, and that in the power of steam alone more force is evolved than is equal to the united muscular force of manual labor.

(*b.*) The benefits arising from the disturbance of static conditions by electric and magnetic agencies, by which messages are conveyed instantaneously for thousands of miles; and other uses for man's progress and improvement.

In the present state of the civilization of the world, these agencies are indispensable, and their value is beyond computation, and all are equally entitled to their benefits.

(*c.*) The advantages of the reception and distribution of force by mechanical contrivances.

By means of labor-saving machinery, the productive power of wealth has been increased tenfold. This increase in the facility for the production of values belongs to all, because it is obtained by natural law, which is God's law. The inventor should be compensated, not for the value of his invention, but for the time, labor, and expense employed in his work.

(3.) The issue and control of a medium of circulation for the exchange of values.

Money is simply a device for the exchange of commodities, and its authority is derived from law, that is, the mutual agreement of all in the government to accept as a token of value some device upon which value is expressed in the unit or units of value, in exchange for a value in some commodity or service rendered.

By this contrivance, values to any amount may be conveyed at any time and to any place within the jurisdiction of the government, and converted (in common parlance) into anything within the circle of exchange, at the option of the holder. So valuable is this device that it has become a necessity of civilization, and is monopolized for the purposes of gain. Since this comes by the authority of the people, it belongs to them, and their right to all its benefits is as clear as that to exchange values.

(4.) The best and cheapest methods for travel, transportation, and lines of communication for intelligence.

This right is as clear as the necessity for it. If people have the right to travel and transport the products of their labor, they have a right to the

best facilities at a just cost for the service; and this implies the right to control all modes of transit and travel, and communicating lines.

(5.) The full and unrestricted use and enjoyment of all the products of the labor of each individual, or their full equivalent in other products by equal exchange.

The unequal distribution of wealth by the monopoly of land and by an unjust monetary system is one of the direct and most effective means by which labor is robbed and the wealth-producer made dependent on the landlords and money-dealers.

(6.) The education of the people, and due preparation for the duties of life, in the highest degree of intellectual, moral, æsthetic, and spiritual culture; in the preservation of health, and in the enjoyment of social and domestic life.

DECLARATION.

We hold that the above-enumerated rights belong by divine inheritence to all men: they are therefore sacred; by virtue of their divine origin they are inalienable: therefore, the deprivation of them by force or fraud is a crime; "that to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that whenever any form of government becomes destruc-

tive of these ends, it is the right of the people to altar or abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundations on such principles and organizing its powers in such form as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that government long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly, all experience hath shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. *But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism,* IT IS THEIR RIGHT, IT IS THEIR DUTY, TO THROW OFF SUCH GOVERNMENT AND TO PROVIDE NEW GUARDS FOR THEIR FUTURE SECURITY."

TO SECURE AND ENJOY THESE RIGHTS,

A radical reconstruction of the Constitution of our existing government is necessary in abrogating—

I. (1.) All vested powers whereby public service is performed, beyond the control of the people.

Powers vested beyond the control of the people is a surrender of their natural rights, and must ne-

cessarily prove fatal to popular government so long as ambitious and designing men seek such powers in order to exercise them for their own aggrandizement. It is not necessary to say that such *is* the fact in our government; it is only necessary to state it.

All political power should be *delegated*, not *vested*, and return to the people by the expiration of the term of office.

By authority of the Federal Constitution, powers are vested beyond control and exercised by designing men who have sought these opportunities for self-aggrandizement; whence arise the evils of government, and not from the natural dishonesty of men. While men are ruled by selfishness and our present system of government exists, a better political condition is impossible; for men will take all they seek. The tendency is towards a worse condition. Reform must come from the people and through a reconstruction of the government in the change of their organic law.

(2.) The power vested in public officers to appoint others to public service who are responsible to the people for their acts.

The relation between the employer and the employee must be direct, since the latter is always responsible to the former.

All the evils of our civil service have arisen by the abuse of power in those who aim to please their patron, rather than the people whom they are required to serve.

(3.) All powers and rights vested in individuals in a corporate capacity, for individual enterprise.

The title of nobility and "bill of attainder" are prohibited in the Constitution of the United States, but the power for evil thus sought to be averted is more than supplied by the power in our government to charter corporations. By means of these, capital is aggregated and associated, by means of which powers are created that have grown to such an extent that all the departments of the government have succumbed to their baleful influence. They have consolidated and made common cause against the rights and interests of the wealth-producers and wage-earners, and thus the wealth of the nation is largely in the possession and control of a very small number of its citizens. This state of affairs is absolutely incompatible with popular government; class distinctions are built up, which render equality of citizenship impossible.

(4.) The senatorial department in all legislative bodies.

The excuse for this department in the federal legislature is, that the States must be equally represented in the national legislature. There is no interest that can affect one State more than another, since their interests are identical throughout. The national sovereignty is to be preserved and maintained, and all the States are alike interested in that. Since they are the equal members of one body, what affects one would affect the others in the same way. Measures for defense, for revenue, for the election of federal officers, foreign relations, issue of a circulating medium, regulation of weights and measures, postal and other public service, Indian affairs, etc., concern one State as much as another; and as all the States are represented in the popular branch, the aristocratic branch has no right

or excuse to exist. State Senates do not have even this excuse.

(5.) Our entire judiciary system, wherein justice is ignored, immoralities and crimes are encouraged and instigated, as misrepresentation, falsehood, fraudulent transactions, forgery, perjury, and subornation, provoked by the strife of contending litigants, and the cupidity of attorneys who resort to quibbles, technicalities, complications in pleading, looseness and license in the construction and interpretation of law, delays and appeals, by which villainy is rewarded, and thousands upon thousands of honest citizens are defrauded and ruined; and a vast army of non-producers lives in wealth and luxury at the expense of the wealth-producers; being a class of disciplined and skilled experts, trained in the specialties and intricacies of a subtle craft, who provoke and encourage litigation, sell their services to known and notorious criminals, and greedy, unscrupulous corporations in their schemes of robbery and plunder by legislative means, and through the instrumentalities of the courts of law.

The abrogation of this department of our government would remove a vast burden from the people in the way of expense, and a fearful source of corruption and crime and a baleful influence on the morals of the community. The tendency to the com-

mission of crime is increased by the well-known fact that any one who can command money enjoys immunities denied to others.

II. The second measure essential in the support of popular government is the repeal of all existing laws of—

(1.) Land tenures by which thousands and and even millions of acres of land are held and controlled by single individuals and corporations, and used by means of wage-labor, or for rent, or held for speculation for the accumulation of wealth.

By the power vested in Congress by the Federal Constitution in disposing of the public domain, an area of land equal to fourteen States of the Union has been granted to railway corporations. Foreign capitalists have purchased for a mere nominal price millions of acres from which they expect to realize immense profits at the expense of their fellow-men. By these vested powers—in Congress for the disposal of the public domain in vast tracts and the power permitting the grant of charters to corporations—the people have been robbed of this vast amount of land, sufficient to subsist a population of thirty millions, already held by them. At the same time, millions of American citizens are homeless and struggling in hopeless poverty. With the horrors of Irish tenantry as an example, we still persist in tolerating a like system with only a feeble protest.

(2.) By which the national finances are controlled for private gain; banking corporations

conducted in the issue of their private notes as a circulating medium, demanding interest on their own debts, and receiving it on the capital they invest, and on deposits, which is other peoples' money; and by which a national debt has been created, and from which a vast income is realized to the holders of government bonds.

By these laws, the volume of the circulating medium is controlled in the interests of the money power and manipulated by the government at their command.

Laws are now in force by which the banks are able to lend more than double their capital of other people's money, besides drawing interest on about $400,000,000 of United States bonds. In other words, the actual use of money by the national banks, as compared with their capital, is multiplied twice in loans on deposits, eight-tenths times in United States bonds, and one-half times in loans of their own money, increasing their actual working capital threefold and thirty per cent over; and this too, independent of their resources, surplus, real estate, and other property. While the people are compelled to *pay* interest on what they owe, banking corporations *receive* interest on their debts. While the people cannot borrow on half of their capital, the banking corporations can loan on more than three times their working capital, and get interest on all their loans.

By laws now existing, bonds greatly below par were purchased with money purposely depreciated. These bonds were made solvent by the solemn pledge of the government, by becoming a part of the Constitution, and then greatly enhanced in

value by declaring them payable in coin, or its equivalent; and by the demonetization of silver they were further increased in value, until they command a premium of from 10 to 25 per cent above gold coin. And all this increase in the value of the people's debt without any benefit whatever to the people themselves, which means taking that much from labor.

(3.) By which individuals and corporations have been given the ownership, control, and operation of lines for travel, transportation, and communication of intelligence, and all the benefits of the same.

Railways have been declared public highways by the highest authority of the government and the right of the States to control them. "I hold," says Judge Black, "that a railroad charter without a reasonable limit to charge is void. The road is not a public highway if the managers charge just what they please. . . . . To say the State cannot save the people from such extortion and fraud is to utter a preposterous absurdity. By the right of eminent domain the State always has the power to abate a monopoly." And yet the corporations continue to defy the courts when their decisions are averse to their interests, and employ means to secure immunities and privileges by the courts.

Judge Black continues: "Mr. Gowen [President of the Reading Railroad Company] says the railroads have great power with the courts. I don't know how that is, but really they are weak and powerless in any issue that brings them before the people. For every millionaire, they have made a thousand paupers; for every one they have

done a favor to, they have cheated ten thousand; and these are the things that will be remembered in a popular issue."

The telegraph system, which now extends over more than one hundred thousand miles of line, yields a net revenue of over $6,000,000 a year. By it the intelligence of the country is monopolized, and all under the control of one man! The evils of this may in some degree be perceived, when it is considered that such intelligence is so modified by falsehood and suppression of facts, that the true uses for which it was designed have been perverted, and it proves an evil instead of a benefit.

(4.) For levying duties on imported commodities, whereby a burden, ostensibly for revenue, is laid on labor instead of on the property of the people, and whereby the greater part of the tax thus levied goes to further enrich already wealthy corporations at the expense of labor.

In the early period of our national existence, a need was felt to foster and encourage the manufacturing interests of the country. This was before corporations were created and while universal interest was felt in national prosperity. At that time labor-saving machinery was in its infancy and the profits on capital were small. The duty levied was to be added to the price of manufactured commodities, with the intention of enabling the employer to increase the wages of his employees, and thus stimulate the industries of the nation.

Besides, the duties collected on foreign imports would serve as a revenue for the general govern-

ment. Thus a convenient means for obtaining a revenue would be added to the aid and encouragement in the manufacturing industries of the country.

The introduction of labor-saving machinery has rendered in a great measure the capitalist independent of manual labor; and the result is a material lessening in the demand for it; the aggregation of capital by corporate power increasing their means for utilizing machinery in the production of wealth, together with the continued immigration of the labor element, while shutting out foreign manufactures, have enabled the home manufactuers to control the labor element, and reduce it to absolute dependence on the capitalists, who exercise entire control over the manufacturing interests of the country.

Duties are laid on the most common necessaries of life, and since the great mass of consumers constitute the laboring element, the greater burden falls on them; and since the tax thus levied is added in marking the price, it goes to the manufacturer. The poor and miserable condition of wage-laborers and their continued strikes for higher wages corroborate the statement above made. Thus it is seen that the tariff laws, however just and needful in the early existence of our government, are means now to enrich capitalists at the expense of the toilers of the land.

AND SUBSTITUTING

For such abrogated powers, by constitutional and legislative provisions—

(1.) The election of all public officers directly by the citizens.

Since the relation is direct and the responsibility of officers is due to the people, their selection and appointment should be direct.

(2.) A system by which the choice of the people can be expressed in the selection of candidates for office.

The convention system has serious and fatal defects. Conventions are managed and manipulated by party bosses and corporation tools in the interest of their masters, and the people are compelled to accept what they consider a less evil to avoid a greater. The selection of candidates is governed by their disposition and means to serve the managers and the party selecting them, coupled with their availability—that is, the power they have to hoodwink the people and secure their votes.

(3.) A method by which proportional representation can be secured.

In a sovereign jurisdiction, in which but one officer for the discharge of a prescribed duty is required, he is to be elected by a majority of the votes cast in that jurisdiction; but in the case of a number for the performance of a common duty, as boards of supervisors or a legislature, it is just to provide for a method by which all parties can be represented. To illustrate: a county has, say, 3,000 voters, of which 1,300 are Democrats, 1,100 Republicans, and 600 Independents. Say there are five supervisors to be elected. Dividing the 3,000 by 5 gives a quotient of 600. Let 600 elect a candidate, a little more or less. The Democrats would see that by this rule they could elect but two, and would concentrate their numerical strength on any

two they might select. The Republicans would do the same, and the Independents would unite on one candidate. The result would be the election of two in the nearly balanced parties, and one Independent, and all would be proportionally represented. As no one should be deprived of his rights because he is in the minority, he is entitled to representation when no others' rights are injured.

Of course, this method would necessitate the obliteration of all district lines within the jurisdiction, and that would be proper, because the duties of the office are the same in all. In state and national offices these principles would apply. As the law now is, in the case of the election of supervisors above supposed, the 1,300 Democrats would elect the whole five, and the 1,700 other voters would have no representation. The disparity would increase as the number of parties increased.

(4.) The free exercise of the elective of franchise by all citizens, WITHOUT REGARD TO SEX.

For the last thirty years, the subject of female suffrage has been under discussion. The progress made toward its consummation is cheering and gratifying; and the day cannot be far distant when sex will be no barrier to the exercise of a right which will be doubled in value to all: not by doubling its power by numbers, but by the quality of *virtue* it will impart to the ballot.

Wrongs which shock the sensitive mind, pollute the social circle, and force their way into the sacred precincts of home, corrupt public morals, impoverish, degrade, and debase mankind, and sustained by the ballots of men, would be swept out of existence, could the intelligent and virtuous will of woman be enforced by her ballot. The

moral atmosphere would be purified, and with its purification would disappear drunkenness, debauchery, and a long list of crimes that disgrace manhood, enfeeble the race, and threaten a relapse into barbarism.

Whenever woman's political power has been exerted, a marked improvement has resulted, and the nation only waits the full exercise of her natural rights to realize the full fruition of the nation's glory.

(5.) For local government in local affairs, and for the exercise of sovereignty in the county, state, and nation.

The people are sovereign by virtue of their natural rights, and the necessity of their full exercise in the enjoyment of "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." The exercise of sovereign powers in the capacity of county government will not conflict with that of state; neither will the exercise of state sovereignty conflict with that of national, because the functions of each do not conflict with any others. County government is organized for certain specific purposes, and functions prescribed for their performance cannot interfere with those of the state. The state is organized with certain prescribed functions; they cannot be performed by a county or a nation. Likewise, a national government is instituted for purposes that cannot be accomplished by a state government. Hence we have distinct sovereignties, which are supreme in their respective spheres.

(6.) For revenue, local, state, and national, by direct tax on the property of the people.

The abolition of the tariff system would relieve the people of a heavy burden, to say nothing of the political corruption it engenders. Direct tax on the property of the people would equalize the burden of revenue. For national purposes, a tax of one-half of one per cent, say on an assessment of $30,000,000,000, would yield a revenue of $150,000,000; and this ought to defray the yearly expenditures of the Federal Government. Indeed, with the changes here advocated, one fifth of it would suffice. This could be assessed and collected along with state and county taxes, and segregated as our state tax is from the county tax, with only this additional labor and expense to the Federal Government. The cost of collecting the customs duties amounts to many millions annually. The justice, benefits, and advantages of direct taxation are so great and so apparent, that it requires no argument for their support.

(7.) For the recall and discharge from public service any officer when a majority of his constituents demand such recall and discharge; and a penalty attached to the offense for which he was recalled and discharged.

This provision is just and reasonable. The servant agrees and undertakes to perform a certain service. In the violation of his agreement he forfeits his contract, and in addition, he is guilty of treachery, which incurs a penalty.

By the existing system, instead of feeling the obligation of duty to his constituents, he elevates himself above them, and too often sells the powers delegated to him for his own benefit. The liberty to use his own discretion is turned into a license to

intrigue to further his ambitious schemes and promote the interests of his party. Therefore, the recall, discharge, and punishment of this class of offenders are just and necessary.

(8.) For the reduction of all salaries and compensations for public services to the scale of the natural ability of such person holding public office to produce wealth by his labor.

The high salaries of office are among the most prolific sources of corruption that disgrace our political system. There is no reason why a person should receive more compensation for serving the people than for serving himself. His labor produces a certain value for whomever performed. The strifes for high salaries engender and intensify party spirit, which too often flames into passion; then reason flees, and the wily politician succeeds in his schemes of personal aggrandizement, or in serving his master.

Those who now seek office for the pay that is in it would give way to honest men who are actuated by a desire to advance the interests of his fellowmen, if no magnet in the shape of big salaries did nor exist to attract him there. Such reduction would tend to the purity of the ballot more than any other one cause.

(9.) For the establishment of a system of arbitration, by which all causes at issue and controversies between individuals shall be adjusted in accordance with the promptings of natural justice and upon the particular merits of each individual case; the apprehension, trial, and dis-

position of criminals; and for the adjustment of disputes and issues wherein a citizen is a party and the county, state, or nation the contestant; a county with another county, a state, or the nation; or a state with another or the nation—are respectively the parties in issue.

The abrogation of our existing judiciary system necessitates the adoption of a method of adjudication that will secure justice to all parties. The advantages of a system as here indicated secure it from the evils of our present judiciary. First, it has for its aim *justice*, while the courts only aim at the administration of *law*. Second, it tends to peace and harmony among the people, while the courts of law encourage dishonesty and crime in creating or suppressing testimony when the case urgently demands it. Third, it settles at once and forever the matter in dispute on its own merits, therefore requires no law save that of justice, no interpretation of former decisions, because it rests upon its own merits, while in courts of law the temptation for quibbles and pretenses, dodges and delays, is so strong that yielding to them is the common custom. Fourth, it is simple, cheap, and easy, while the courts of law are so intricate, complicated, and difficult that a class of skilled experts have to be employed who demand as their compensation for their service such exorbitant fees that they are enabled to live in wealth and luxury at the expense of their clients. Fifth, it would dispense with a large and influential class of men whose interests and aims are in perpetuating existing conditions, by which swindling and robbery are carried on in the name of and through the instrumentality of

law. This class of men, skilled in the intricacies and subtleties of an exclusive craft, are the convenient and efficient agents of a government of organized greed, of which the wage-earner and wealth-producer are the victims. In the name of the public good and by its authority, they enact and enforce laws for the benefit of the few, by which robbery is legalized, powers belonging to the people are usurped, and labor enslaved. All the legislation in the world, supported by the decision of every court in existence, cannot make a wrong right.

(10.) For owning, controlling, and operating all public highways and lines of communication by water, as railroads, canals, navigable streams, lakes and coasts; and all means for the transmission of intelligence, as postal routes, telegraphs, and telephones, by the government.

The rapid advancement of the railroad corporations, and their consolidation into a system for mutual advantage and defense, excites alike the surprise and alarm of all who desire the welfare of their country and humanity. A railroad is a permanent thing, and becomes a geographical feature of the country, and materially affects the value of land by the facilities it affords for the markets and travel, like that of a navigable stream. Postal routes, public schools, sanitary regulations, and means for defense and administration of the law are owned, controlled, supported, and operated by government means. The adoption by the government of all lines of travel, transporation, and intelligence would complete the category, and secure to all the equal benefits derived from these enter-

prises. The corporations that now control them, and by which millions upon millions are unjustly taken to enrich the corporators, would be changed into a co-operative system in which all would be equal beneficiaries; for, as has been stated, the very purposes for which popular government is instituted are the regulation of natural rights, and the protection of the citizens in their full and free exercise, and the security of all in equal opportunities.

The absorption of wealth in the hands of a few necessarily defeats the purposes of the people in their attempts to establish free government; for freedom depends on equality; and equality cannot exist when wealth is accumulated in few hands; for upon it class distinctions are built up; the few become rulers, and the many their dupes and slaves.

By controlling the lines for the transmission of intelligence by private corporations, free and truthful communication is prevented, and false statements are published and true ones suppressed. In this way, false notions and errors are propagated, and reform seriously retarded. Public control of lines for intelligence would remove this barrier to reform—a necessary condition in the work of reconstruction.

(11.) For the occupation and use of the public domain by the citizens of the government, and the adoption of measures for the restoration of all lands granted to corporations and obtained by individuals now unoccupied and held for rent or speculation, to the use and benefit of the people.

The necessity of this measure is apparent when it is considered that land is the source and support of life; and he who holds it holds and controls the lives of those who are dependent upon it. Land being a fixed quantity, its value increases as population increases; and as life is dependent on it, the power of the holder over others increases with the increase of its value.

The conditions upon which a greater portion of the public lands were granted have not been fulfilled, and should revert to the public domain; the reversion has been hedged in by a resolution of Congress to the effect that no grant, however palpable the fact of the non-fulfillment of its conditions by the grantee, it cannot revert to the government without a declaration of such non-fulfillment by the joint action of Congress. Millions of acres are thus withheld from occupancy and use in which not a move has been made to perform the conditions of the grant, and the time specified in the charter expired years ago, in which the conditions were to be fulfilled, and still awaiting the action of Congress.

It has been the policy of the government until recently to prohibit the right of aliens to hold land, but of late, the title to millions of acres has been granted to foreign lords and dukes, who will occupy them with English tenantry, and thus extend English rule upon American soil.

(12.) For an efficient system of education, by which all the people shall be duly and thoroughly qualified for all their duties, public and private, and for the exercise of all their rights and privileges.

The condition of a people is determined by the status of their education, politically, socially, and financially. The educational agencies that determine the status of a people are far more numerous and potent than those prescribed in the ordinary school curriculum. By the scramble for wealth, selfishness is developed, and selfishness is the great drawback to individual advancement. The pursuit of wealth, as the aim and object of life, is vitiating and degrading; the production of wealth as a means of life is laudable and necessary: vitiating because it develops selfishness; degrading because it engenders a lust for power and dominion which characterize the tyrant, or contracts its unfortunate owner to that of a miser. Besides, its successful accumulation deprives others who need a portion of it of its proper use. The accumulation of wealth by unequal exchange is robbery; in other words, to take without giving an equal value by fraud is swindling; by force, is robbery; neither of which would be possible if the people were properly educated. The use of wealth now employed is to accumulate more wealth, to exercise control over others, and to serve as the basis of American aristocracy. The *true* use of wealth, aside from adequate subsistence, is in the development of all the powers and faculties of the individual. It is the culture and rounding out, the refinement and harmonious relation, of all the attributes of the being to the full capacity of each.

The intellect observes, conceives, reasons, arranges, and classifies knowledge; the moral powers deal in social relations based upon the requirements of justice and the regulation of domestic affairs; the æsthetic relates to the beautiful in nature and art—scenery, flowers, sculpture, paint-

ings, music. These elevate, purify, refine, and polish, and add greatly to the pleasures and enjoyments of life. The spiritual has reference to the interior life, and relation to the life after death. All blend and unite in each properly educated and cultured individual. Thus the purposes of life are fully accomplished, and each passes on to his just reward.

In view of the blessings arising from the exercise of our natural rights in the enjoyment of personal liberty in all the means of life, the free use of God's gifts to man, and the inherent capacity of man for unfoldment in his intellectual powers, whereby the secrets of nature are unveil d and her forces evolved and applied for his benefit, and for the exercise of his political rights in devising measures for the advancement of industry, commerce, and education, we deem it necessary, in order to realize these blessings, to labor for their realization, fully convinced that if we would be free, we must take the work of reform in our own hands, and forever relinquish the hope of reformation from the political forces now in existence.

We contemplate these things in the ideal with the vague hope that sometime and in some way they may be real. History and experience teach us that blessings come to those who take them, who provide for them by the means appointed by a wise providence. They will never come to those who wait for them. The poet sings of the noble, heroic deeds of our forefathers; the orator in glowing terms recounts their struggles, their suffering, and their sacrifices; we wave banners and fire cannon in celebration of their deeds, but do nothing for ourselves. They did their duty well: let us do ours; for we have a duty to perform, not upon the

battle-field, nor in the council-chamber. The work is in brains, illumination, and heart purification.

> "We live in deeds, not years. We should count
> Time by heart-throbs, not by figures
> On the dial-plate. He lives most
> Who thinks most, feels the noblest,
> Acts the best."

Their work was to break the bonds imposed by royal prerogative and "vested" rights: ours to preserve the liberty thus gained; they put the ballot in our hands, and charged us with the power of self-protection by its judicious use. Rejoicing in the liberty *they* won, we forget that it is in the USE of the ballot, not its *possession*, that our liberties are to be preserved. They gave us the example, the lesson: it is for us to profit by the one and learn from the other. To enjoy the fruits of their labor, we must labor likewise. We must think as they did; we must feel as they did; we must value our liberties as they did theirs: and then we will do as they did. The enemy they fought was clothed with kingly authority; ours, in corporate power: the one is vested by a long line of inheritance, the other is a usurpation of natural rights; the one is essential to monarchical government, the other destructive to a true republic.

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